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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Leading CPSL Secretary Ondrej Saling Reports to West Slovakia Conference

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[Speech by Ondrej Saling, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and leading secretary of the West Slovakia Kraj Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia: "On the Results of the Work of the West Slovakia Kraj Committee of the CPSL Since the Last Conference in Fulfilling the Resolutions of the 17th Congress of the CPCZ and on the Tasks of the Future"]

[Text] Honored delegates, honored guests, comrades!

It is the task of the kraj conference of the CPSL to substantively and critically judge how we have succeeded in implementing the conclusions of the 17th Congress of the CPCZ and the resolutions of the Congress of the CPSL and, at the same time, to map out the procedures to be followed by party organs and organizations by all communists in realizing these resolutions even more thoroughly through the comprehensive restructuring and deepening of socialist democracy.

The impetus for this work was given by the resolutions adopted by the seventh and ninth sessions of the Central Committee of the CPCZ which met with broad interest and support in our kraj and exerted a significant influence upon annual membership meetings and conferences.

The culmination of the preparations for our discussions were the okres conferences which were accomplished in a working, critical, and self-critical atmosphere and adopted specific measures aimed at fulfilling the demanding tasks facing our party and society.

Favorable conditions for our work at the conference are created by the fact that broad strata of working people support the strategic line calling for the acceleration of socioeconomic development. This was also documented by the elections of candidates to representative bodies, by the course of public discussions surrounding the proposed law on state enterprises, on agricultural and nonagricultural cooperatives, as well as the attitudes of communists at annual membership meetings and party conferences.

Our efforts, which are aimed at the thorough realization of the resolutions adopted by the 17th Congress of the CPCZ, the resolutions of the Congress of the CPSL, and resolutions adopted by the kraj conference bore positive fruit. As can be seen from the submitted written report, the fundamental intentions expressed in the resolutions of the kraj conference were successfully fulfilled. The ideological, organizational, and action unity of the kraj party organization was deepened which was manifested

in the growth of political and social activity on the part of working people, in increasing the effectiveness of the work performed by national committees and by social organizations.

We recorded additional dynamic development pertaining to the economy of the kraj, primarily with respect to industrial production. Despite some complicated conditions, the agricultural-food complex successfully assured the availability of foodstuffs in the market. Positive results were achieved in the area of social policy, in education, culture, the health services, and in other sectors.

On the other hand, however, it must be said that we were not as successful as we had planned in all respects. Our work was accompanied by numerous problems and shortcomings. One-third of the economic organizations is not fulfilling the planned tasks of the 5-year plan. We are not achieving the required volume of turnover in the intensification and improvement of quality of production, in lowering the material, raw material, and energy intensity of production. There are also few reserves in regard to the intensification of agricultural production.

We were not successful in achieving significant advances in the efficiency of party work regarding the activities of several party organs and organizations; neither were we successful with regard to increased activity on the part of communists and with regard to generally improving their political effectiveness under more demanding conditions.

The results achieved and the resolve to solve persistent problems, but primarily the confidence which the working people place in the comprehensive restructuring of society, compels us to provide a truthful answer to the question as to whether the approaches which we are applying in kraj party work are commensurate with the new tasks; compels us to competently judge our state of preparedness to realize the resolutions of the seventh and ninth sessions of the Central Committee of the CPCZ and what needs to be done in this regard.

In these efforts, for example, we are even inspired by the pioneering and decisive procedures adopted by Soviet communists in implementing the program of revolutionary restructuring and democratization of Soviet society, which is a continuation of the idea of the Great October Revolution, the 70th anniversary of which we celebrated last year with all progressive people. The policies of the CPSU are encountering wide support among our working people. This is also true of the Leninist peace policy which represents new thinking with respect to international relations, provides mankind with the hope of living in peace, follows the most noble of goals—to rid mankind of nuclear weapons by the end of this century.

The deep changes which we are approaching are a continuation of the path we embarked upon during the memorable days of February 1948 when our working

class, led by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, closed out its many years of battling to overthrow the bourgeois exploitative system. With respect and thanks we recall those who participated in the victory of the working people 40 years ago and who actively took a hand in the socialist changes which took place. We salute the founding members of the party, the participants in the antifascist resistance, the members of the People's Militia, the Army, the Security Corps, officials of the national committees, trade union officials, and all those who built the foundations of present-day socialism.

We place an equally high value on the working efforts and initiatives of workers, cooperative farmers, and the intelligentsia in fulfilling the resolutions of the 17th Congress of the CPCZ, in developing activity in honor of the Great October Revolution and the 40th anniversary of Victorious February which largely contributed to the fulfillment of the principal tasks of economic and social development in our kraj.

The Party as the Motive Force Behind Restructuring

Comrades!

For the successful realization of contemporary tasks, the 17th Congress of the CPCZ set high requirements with respect to the work of the entire party, primarily calling for the more effective implementation of its leading role, increasing the action capability of party organs and organizations, raising the responsibility of every communist.

These thoughts were also articulated by the ninth session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ. In the report of the Presidium, presented by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, it says: "...the primary questions which we must address include the work of the party, the implementation of its leading role in realizing the significant changes which we have undertaken in the process of economic reforms and in the process of democratizing society. We are aware that the party must be the principal motive force behind restructuring." These words are a measure for judging the efficiency of our work and, at the same time, act as an orientation impetus for the further intended activities of party organs and organizations in the kraj.

Tenacious efforts to increase the activity of the entire kraj party organization bring results with respect to perfecting the style and method of work and deepening the political influence of the party upon the fulfillment of economic, social, and ideological goals.

Gradually, we were able to activate basic organizations and communists, to deepen the influence upon working collectives. The forms of direct contact between the party and the workers are being applied more efficiently. More emphasis is being placed on examining their opinions and attitudes, on more thorough solutions pertaining to their justified reminders and proposals.

The West Slovakia Kraj Committee of the CPSL also shared in these results. At its sessions, decisive questions of political-organizational and ideological work on the part of the party were discussed, as were questions pertaining to the economic and social development of the kraj and the activities of the political system. Collectivity in the work of the kraj committee improved, as did the participation of its members in the creation, realization, and control of resolutions. Similarly, the level of program activities of the committee's organs and commissions, which regularly analyze the work of okres committees and deciding party organizations, organized and controlled the fulfillment of resolutions adopted by kraj conferences and the kraj committee.

The work of the kraj Control and Audit Commission can be judged positively. The above results create the prerequisites enabling the kraj party organization to fulfill future goals.

On the other hand, it must be said in self-criticism that we cannot be satisfied with our work. We are disturbed primarily by the fact that even though the ideas of restructuring and the demands for change in the style of party work enjoy the full support of the majority of communists, there are significant variations in the approach of party organs and organizations, their officials, but also of the workers of the apparatus in implementing a more demanding course in practical everyday life. This leads to a requirement for more rapid adaptation of the activities of the entire kraj party organization to new conditions.

In harmony with the resolutions adopted by the third session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, we have devoted permanent attention in the work of party organs and organizations to the formation of party statutes and heightening the activities of communists. During the previous time frame, the kraj party organization underwent numerical growth and has virtually 136,000 members and candidate members. Of these, 60 percent are directly active in material production. Great attention was devoted to strengthening the working class core; also, the representation of women and young people was strengthened.

Since the last kraj conference, more than 8,300 candidates for party membership were accepted in our kraj. However, we are not satisfied that the management of the process of inducting candidate members, as well as the structure of the membership, fully reflects the requirements of strengthening the influence of the party, particularly in decisive enterprises and establishments. In the period since the 17th Congress of the CPCZ, party organizations at the Calix Zlate Moravce, Mier Topolcany, Chirana at Piestany and elsewhere have recorded a decline in the number of workers who are members of party organizations. Success in strengthening the party's influence in the scientific-technical base, in education and culture, has been inadequate. Responsibility for this status is also shared by the existence of shortcomings in

the management work undertaken by okres committees of the CPSL. For example, activities engaged in by the okres committee of the CPSL at Nitra, Trnava, Bratislava-rural show a considerable seasonal character and a lack of conceptualization in the selection and acceptance of candidate members. As a result of imposing low demand in selection and as a result of weak political work in some basic organizations of the CPSL, many candidates are leaving party ranks even during their term of candidacy. As stated in the written report, 483 candidate members left the party over a period of 2 years in this manner, mostly in the okreses of Trnava, Bratislava-rural, Nitra, Senica, and Topolcany.

We must connect the further expansion of the membership base with solutions of decisive tasks, subject it to the demands of restructuring, intensification of the economy, the implementation of scientific-technical development, and to structural changes in the economy of the kraj. It is extraordinarily topical to devote permanent attention to the selection and education of accepted candidates while making greater use of the guarantees provided by the Slovak Union of Youth and the experiences gathered from working collectives. We must not permit the acceptance of people into the party who have only a small commitment or none at all to socialist changes in society. Similarly, it is necessary to increase the care devoted to keeping the party's shield clean, to protect the good name of communists. We must not permit violations of party resolutions, party obligations, the suppression of criticism, the covering up of illegal actions. In no event must we tolerate a violation of laws by communists.

A whole series of unprincipled approaches, indifference to shortcomings and disorder, as well as complacency demonstrate the continued topical nature of the Letter of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPCZ on the struggle against negative phenomena. It is necessary to understand everywhere that the struggle against various ailments, against the lack of discipline is an inseparable component of restructuring.

And experiences in our kraj confirm that one of the decisive tasks of party work involves increasing the activity of communists. Despite many measures, there are still not a few members who do not participate in the work in basic organizations and do not function actively and politically in working collectives or at their places of residence. The annual meetings in basic organizations of the party and okres conferences pointed this fact out critically. Obviously, it will be important to strengthen the influence of the party in the countryside and, in this respect, to implement the resolutions of the Central Committee of the CPCZ on the work of registered party members more thoroughly. It is necessary for okres committees of the CPSL to analyze the situation in individual basic party organizations and, together with them, to adopt appropriate measures and consistently implement them in everyday life.

This requires more consistent utilization of all proven forms of party work, particularly the assignment of specific tasks to communists, reports of accountability pertaining to their fulfillment, and a more effective application of the right to effect controls. In the day-to-day work of party organizations, intraparty democracy must be strengthened, criticism and self-criticism must be applied, there must be openness at committee sessions and membership meetings as is called for by the ninth session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ. In other words, it is necessary to consistently adhere to party statutes and to increase their authority in every party organization and in the activities of every communist.

During the previous time frame, the kraj and okres committees of the CPSL did much to increase the activities of basic organizations and their influence within working collectives. The number of organizations which are reevaluating the style and method of their operations, which are seeking new paths to perfect them, has grown. Good results in this respect are being achieved in the okreses of Komarno, Nove Zamky, Galanta, and Trencin.

On the other hand, however, the shortcomings in the fulfillment of economic plans, the large number of enterprises and establishments which are failing to fulfill their plan quotas, the falling behind in intensification and the quality of production, and developments in other areas of economic and social life require a deeper involvement with the efficiency of organizational and management work in basic organizations, require that working collectives be influenced by specific capabilities demonstrated by basic organizations, demand the implementation of the leading role of the party within the sphere of jurisdiction of such organizations.

We stress this also because the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the development of socialist democracy place greater demands on the independent and initiative approach adopted by basic organizations, on their ability to creatively apply the resolutions of higher party organs to their own conditions.

We face the task of having to increase the activity of all basic organizations, of seeing to it that every one of them becomes an actual political core of the working collective, capable of unifying the efforts of the entire enterprise, the self-administration organs and of the social organizations in the direction of satisfying the needs of all of society; seeing to it that it stands at the head of the effort to seek out new forms and methods of work and does not ignore the problems with which the working collectives live.

The necessity for such an orientation was also confirmed by the results of annual membership meetings. A valuable currency for our future work is the fact that, at these meetings, communists expressed their full support for the foreign and domestic policy of the CPCZ, the party

line aimed at the comprehensive restructuring of society, and for the further development of socialist democracy. The majority of the annual meetings were characterized by a higher degree of organization and by a higher level of content, by being more demanding in judging results, as well as by laying out future tasks, by better collective preparation of the meetings, and by more comprehensive evaluation of problems. It is necessary to consider it a positive development that basic organizations active in the economic sphere placed high demands on evaluating questions connected with clarifying and specifically realizing the restructuring of the economic mechanism, pointed out objective and subjective factors which stand in the way of the evenness of production and hamper the fulfillment of the qualitative indicators of the plan.

As was demonstrated by the annual membership meetings and by the findings of okres conferences, many organizations have still not fully comprehended the conclusions of the seventh session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ in all their breadth, particularly from the standpoint of restructuring their own work, of the more effective utilization of political means to mobilize people and to assure tasks. Consequently, it was necessary in virtually one-third of the basic organizations of the CPSL to more specifically deal with resolutions of the Czechoslovak Government. This points to the need to improve the quality of differentiated assistance rendered to basic organizations.

Improving the Quality of Cadre Work

Comrades!

The okres committees, their elected organs and apparatus, the party activ did a worthy piece of work in realizing the resolutions of the 17th Congress of the CPCZ in the kraj.

Nevertheless, they must proceed more decisively and more responsibly with respect to improving the quality of the style and method of their work. Furthermore, they must intensify the live contact between members of elected bodies and party apparatus workers and basic organizations. They must more effectively perfect forms and methods of work involving officials. Of particular importance is the further improvement in the quality of the differentiated assistance rendered to basic organizations in implementing political methods involved in their functioning and the comprehensive support of other tasks which the ninth session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ outlined for their work.

This fully applies also to perfecting the activities of the kraj committee of the CPSL, its organs and apparatus, as well as the activities of the kraj Control and Audit Commission. This means that the kraj committee must continue to set an example in the new style and method of party work which excludes the replacement of state, economic organs, and social organizations of the

National Front and make it possible to implement collectiveness in the work performed by the elected organs, the implementation of criticism and self-criticism.

Together with high demands placed on the activities of party organs, higher requirements are also placed upon the work of the party apparatus. We require party apparatus workers to demonstrate deep understanding of, and familiarity with, the essence of the current political course, we require them to demonstrate the closest connection with party organizations and working collectives, we require them to show a thorough knowledge of the specific situation in their work with people and recruiting them to support the policies of the party. Also, in the activities of the apparatus it is necessary to more resolutely overcome some administrative, narrowly organizational, and routine approaches or the tendencies to supplant the activities of party and economic organs.

Of particular importance in the work of kraj and okres committees and their apparatuses, but also in other party organizations and organs, is the perfecting of the work involving resolutions—from their preparation through to their consistent fulfillment and control. In this area, as we have stressed at the session of the kraj committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia in October of last year, a fundamental turnaround must ensue.

Comrades!

Today, when we are discussing future tasks at the kraj conference, we stress the inevitability of the need to improve the quality of cadre work. The delegates have received documents which outline what has been achieved in this sector. The fact that leading workers who represent the foremost activ of the party significantly share in the results of our work is positive; the majority of them enjoy natural authority in working collectives, have organizational capabilities, have specialized and moral qualities which permit the successful mastery of the published tasks.

Unfortunately, experiences show that the work of some of the leading workers does not correspond to new conditions, not every one of them demonstrates the necessary consistency and responsibility in assuring the tasks. This is also confirmed by the fact, as we have already mentioned, that one-third of the enterprises are failing to assure their comprehensive economic tasks. This also reflects shortcomings in the cadre work of party organs and organizations, the low level of requirements levied upon managers.

As we have stressed several times at meetings of the West Slovakia Kraj Committee of the CPSL, every manager must realize that party organs in the kraj cannot tolerate the long-term failure to fulfill tasks. Where things do not move forward at the required pace, cadre changes will also have to ensue.

Under conditions of restructuring, cadre work also remains as one of the key political instruments through the use of which party organs and organizations implement their leading role. It is particularly important for us to implement democratic principles in selecting cadres, it is important for us to respect the views of working collectives. In conjunction with the proposed law on state enterprises, it is necessary to be prepared for conditions of electability and competitive selection of cadres. The application of elections of enterprise managers and organs of self-administration is a component of deepening socialist democracy and will require changes in existing forms of cadre work while fully respecting the leading role of the party. What is decisive is for party organizations to influence the selection and election of the most suitable candidates with their political influence more specifically than heretofore.

Permanent attention must be devoted to a healthy turnover among officials and the creation of still better conditions for the selection and preparation of managers from the ranks of women, young people, and talented workers. Also, the nationality composition of the kraj must be taken into account.

Activation of the National Front

Comrades!

The process of restructuring and democratization of society places higher demands on the work of social and special-interest organizations, on the entire National Front, and requires the elimination of many shortcomings which persist in the work of this organization. What is involved primarily is the better utilization of the possibilities to have citizens participate in administration and management, in the expansion of their activities. Consequently, it is necessary to eliminate formalism in the activities of these organizations and to dismantle administrative methods of work, to eliminate large showy activities which do not solve anything. We stand at the beginning of restructuring the activities of organs and organizations of the National Front, activities which we are beginning to implement on the basis of the Document of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPCZ on the Activation of the National Front, which we have worked up in accordance with our conditions. The findings show that restructuring must be more elastically implemented in the life of the entire National Front, in the work of every social and special-interest organization.

As was stressed at the April session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ by Comrade Ignac Janak, first secretary: "At the present time, the topical tasks for communists in organs of the National Front of the Slovak Socialist Republic and in the organizations affiliated with it is to explain the essence and goals of restructuring, to recruit citizens and young people for active participation in this revolutionary process."

The National Front includes political parties—the Freedom Party (Strana slobody) and the Slovak Rebirth Party (Strana slovenskej obrody), whose members participate in the development of the kraj. In our relationship with them, we will implement the method of mutual consultations and information exchange in such a way as to cause their membership base to take an active part in socialist development.

We value the work performed by members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement to benefit the development of the kraj. However, the times require a systematic increase in the level of activities of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement organs and organizations. It is inescapable that they should concentrate their attention primarily upon such activities as the Initiative of the Central Council of Trade Unions and the 1990 intensification program which make an effective contribution to the socioeconomic development of the kraj. It is necessary to be more demanding in judging the contribution made by socialist competition, to rid it of stereotypes and formalism, to create political prerequisites for the further expansion of the brigade form of organizing work and remuneration. We stress this because this movement encompasses slightly less than 12 percent of the workers in the kraj.

Simultaneously, it is necessary to increase the care of workers, care involved in forming their moral and character traits, to actively share in implementing the principles of self-administration and self-financing. Communists within the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement must stand at the head of the struggle against lack of discipline, lack of order in production, against all negative manifestations which weaken the capability of the working collective to fulfill its tasks. It is necessary to improve the day-by-day political work involving people.

Party organs and organizations devoted a great deal of attention to the education of the young generation. The majority of the boys and girls perform their work or school obligations with sacrifice, have a positive relationship with their socialist homeland. Some negative manifestations—for example, in criminality, in views respecting life-style, as well as in material orientation, indicate that there is a need to increase the influence of the party upon the young generation. Of particular importance is for us to recruit them to support the goals of restructuring.

In exerting influence upon the young generation, worthy work is done by the Socialist Union of Youth and its Pioneer Organization. Despite numerous good results in its activities, it is necessary to know that a portion of the youth union organization is only slightly independent and demonstrates little initiative and frequently works in a formal manner. We are disturbed by the fact that only 38 percent of the young people in the kraj are members of the SZM. We perceive that there is inadequate influence and little effective work aimed at students at specialized middle schools, young workers, and young

farmers. It is precisely here that we expect greater initiative; initiative exercised with respect to the youth organization primarily by party, state, and social organs and organizations. Understandably, the youth organization must primarily implement the justified interests of young people more effectively, must be an actual school for political and social activity on the part of young people, to inspire them to implement the results of scientific-technical progress, to prepare them to defend the country, and prepare them to fulfill the demanding goals of the 17th Congress of the CPCZ.

The results about which we speak today were participated in also by other organizations affiliated with the National Front. Our thanks belong to the active members of the ZCSP, the Union of Antifascist Fighters, the Union of Women, to cooperative farmers, members of the Czechoslovak Union for Physical Training, to members of the Association for Cooperation With the Army, and to the Union of Firefighters. Worthy work, as it is listed also in the written documents of the conference, is performed by other special-interest organizations also. It is desirable for their activity to still more actively contribute to the further development of sociopolitical activities of citizens and workers in our kraj.

Comrades!

Since the elections to representative bodies, the activities of national committees have improved. The realization of National Front election programs contributes to the economic, social, and cultural development of the kraj, of the okreses, of the towns and communities. The national committees are gradually implementing the restructuring of the style and method of their work in their activities, they apply socialist democracy on a broader scale. More advantageous conditions have developed for the more rapid expansion and improvement of services.

Although the level of work performed by the national committees is changing qualitatively, we cannot be satisfied with everything. There is a need to achieve improved authority on the part of elected organs, particularly in plenary sessions. These sessions must include basic questions having to do with the life of citizens and preparations for these sessions must involve a broad circle of people. It is very important to achieve a situation in which citizens are systematically familiarized with resolutions adopted by the national committees; but mainly, these resolutions should stem from justified citizen needs.

Similarly, it is necessary to increase the authority of delegates to national committees, involving them more in the preparation of plenary sessions, in control activities of the apparatus and in executive, and, primarily, in everyday political life involving citizens. Communists in national committees are obligated, as assigned by the ninth session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, to promote democratic methods, to perfect the style of

work accomplished by individual organs, commissions, and the apparatus of the national committee, to decisively struggle against manifestations of a lack of sensitivity in contacts with people, to serve as a personal example, and regularly give stewardship reports covering their activities.

In the work of national committees, it is necessary to devote more attention to the care devoted to the young generation. This is primarily a question of the consistent fulfillment of tasks in the erection of school and cultural facilities, the creation of conditions promoting club activities, the work of Pioneer houses and youth hostels.

The problems in comprehensive housing construction call for the more specific implementation of evenness in housing construction, and in technical and sanitary facilities. In this direction, it is necessary to strengthen the control and coordination functions primarily of okres national committees, specifically in the okreses of Nitra and Trnava. It is necessary also to be more demanding in involving enterprises and establishments in the solution of social questions raised by citizens in territorial areas.

Problems involving the quality of paid services, their timeliness, and price affordability persist. Shortcomings exist involving the supply of food and consumer goods, in public catering and in personal travel, in the equipment of technical services, in the housing economy. There is much which needlessly makes the life of our citizens unpleasant. Therefore, it is necessary not only for officials of national committees, but the organizations which they manage to eliminate these shortcomings more consistently.

From what has been said, it is clear that the work of national committees requires more conceptualizing while directing the economic and social development of territorial units.

Comrades!

In realizing security and legal policy, we have attained numerous positive results which are a manifestation of the improvements in the quality of work performed by the National Security Corps, by the office of the state prosecutors, by the justice system, as well as reflecting the fact that state organs, economic and social organizations were interested in this development, as was a wide circle of our citizens. There was an expansion of preventive-educational activities, protection of social and state facilities was improved. Public order was more effectively protected, as was the security of citizens and their rights and property.

However, we cannot be complacent over the fact that problems in suppressing recidivism, alcoholism, and criminality persist. And despite increases in the level of protection afforded the socialist economy, an atmosphere of implacability in the face of violating economic

discipline, in the face of pilferage, in the face of property damage and bribery has not developed everywhere as yet as outlined in the Letter of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPCZ. Party organs and organizations must stand at the head of the turnaround in this area.

As we have stressed several times, in the future, in addition to perfecting the activities of organs engaged in penal activities, the realization of security and legal policy must become a permanent component of the work of all party organs and organizations, of state organs, economic and social organizations so that the maximum number of people would participate in its fulfillment. In conjunction with these tasks, we consider it to be very important to improve legal education and propaganda.

We highly value the work of the members of the Czechoslovak People's Army, the results which are attained by units stationed on kraj territory in combat and political preparedness, as well as the assistance which they render our economy.

An important mission in defending the socialist order is assigned to the People's Militia. We value the work performed by its members in fulfilling the task of combat and political preparedness and self-sacrifice at our work sites.

Ideological Work—A Matter for Every Communist

Honored comrades!

With respect to ideological impact, we considered it to be of primary importance for ideological work to contribute with all its forms and means to the activation of the human factor, to the understanding of the changeable character of the times, to the essence of the revolutionary tasks which we are solving at present.

In the past period, we were successful in increasing our influence on the formation of the socialist conscience of communists and of other workers. We registered progress in the interconnection of ideological work with the solving of key tasks in the kraj economy.

We were successful in applying some existing forms of agitation-propaganda activity, as well as in introducing some new forms. The organization of the Gottwald Days, the introduction of unified political days, the utilization of public membership meetings, the use of personal agitation, and other forms of ideological work confirm that if one speaks openly to workers even about the most complicated problems, if we consult them, then we can recruit them for the active implementation of the policies of the party. More than 20,000 lecturers and propagandists, as well as the higher level of work in political indoctrination courses and higher level of work in houses and departments of political education account for these results.

As shown by our experiences, the level of ideological work continues to fall behind current requirements. It is not always sufficiently offensive and effective in the struggle against old thinking, against inertia, in the struggle for the creation of a critical and creative environment in working and citizen collectives.

We are unsuccessful in influencing public opinion to the desired degree and in recruiting everyone to play an active part in the fulfillment of tasks.

The fact that ideological work is frequently perceived only as a matter for the ideological activ and not as a matter for the entire party and for each communist remains a serious problem. Technocratic procedures persist frequently among economic managers and popular education of people is often underestimated. We subjected these shortcomings to criticism at the session of the Central Committee of the CPSL in June of last year and adopted the necessary measures.

We are obligated to improve the quality of ideological work also by recent sessions of the Central Committee of the CPCZ at which stress was placed on the fact that the assurance of the dynamic development of society, the creation of conditions for the broad initiative and activity of people has, as its prerequisite, the intensification of ideological work and its restructuring. Ideological work must be firmly connected with practice, must be based on fact, must be competently executed, must be supported by the results of solid theoretical activities, objective analysis, and research. It must expose everything which is foreign to socialism.

Comrades!

An analysis of mass political work in the kraj, which was also judged by the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, has confirmed that we achieved some positive results in its development. Also, the annual membership meetings of basic Communist Party organizations have shown that we are accomplishing this activity with a greater degree of tenaciousness of purpose. Experiences gathered from the work of party organizations at the machine tool factories at Trencin, at the Duslo Chemical Plant at Sala, at the Slovak Silk Mills at Senica, at the unified agricultural cooperative at Trebatice, and elsewhere show that the effectiveness of mass political work rises if we forego general exhortations, if we address the solution of problems existing at the work site, if we connect mass political effects with life and with the everyday cares articulated by the working collectives. On the other hand, the influence of mass political work is weakened by a global approach, by inadequate offensiveness, by inadequate specificity, and by substituting large-scale activities for day-to-day work with people.

From this, it is clear we must orient mass political work and the decisive role of the contemporary phase of social development particularly toward the intensification of

the economy, toward applying scientific-technical progress. Particular attention must be devoted to restructuring the economic mechanism, to prepare people for work under more demanding circumstances. Everywhere it is necessary to make sure that a transition is made from words to actions and that the impact of mass political work is thus heightened, so that it reacts to the conditions existing in one or another enterprise, establishment, or institution.

Forming the Personality of Socialist Man

The nature of the times requires us to connect the mobilization of the working people to fulfill the goals which have been set with the formation of the personality of socialist man. Particular emphasis must be placed on world view education so that it can help in consolidating people's convictions regarding the correctness of the policies espoused by our party.

We continue to regard patriotic and international education as the core of our ideological functioning; we also consider the core to be the further strengthening of friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. A great opportunity for strengthening international education is presented by the 30th anniversary of the development of fraternal contacts with Saratov Oblast.

It is necessary to continue ensuring that an important component of our propagandistic work is formed by questions of new thinking in international relations, by support for the peaceful policies of the Soviet Union, of our country, of the entire socialist community to make certain that workers and young people correctly comprehend the mutual interdependence of domestic and foreign policy.

The topicality of forming patriotic and international feelings among our people is underscored also by the fact that members of other nations and nationalities, particularly citizens of Hungarian extraction, live in our kraj. It can be said that we are successfully implementing the Leninist nationalities policy. This is confirmed by the development of the southern okreses, namely Dunajska Streda, Komarno, Galanta, Nove Zamky, and other areas where Czechoslovak citizens of Hungarian nationality reside. We are devoting equal attention to deepening the Czechoslovak mutuality of fraternal relationships between the Slovak and Czech people.

Requirements for international education are heightened by the fact that the class enemy is attempting to misuse nationalism to disrupt the moral-political unity of our people. Consequently, it is very important to further strengthen Czechoslovak mutuality on the basis of the Leninist nationalities policy. We expect communists in the Csemadok [Cultural Organization of Hungarian Workers in Czechoslovakia] organization to be of assistance to us in this regard. In the interest of creating conditions for the broader application of the talents of

young people of Hungarian nationality in Czechoslovakia, it is necessary to improve the quality of the Slovak language training they receive. We believe that communists who are teachers and parents will play a significant role in this respect.

To form patriotic and international feelings, it is important to make effective use of significant anniversaries which will be upcoming in the future, particularly the 70th anniversary of the establishment of Czechoslovakia, the 45th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of our people and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army. What is at stake is that the working people, and particularly the young people, should understand the continuity of the revolutionary changes in our society and should draw lessons and inspiration from the experiences of the older generation to help them solve contemporary tasks. Toward this end, it is necessary to fully utilize the revolutionary traditions of the kraj, primarily experiences gathered during the class struggles which took place at Kosice, Trnava, Vrabel, Trnovec, and elsewhere.

We must not forget that even under conditions of peaceful coexistence the ideological struggle against the socialist countries does not die down. Quite the contrary. In connection with the anniversaries which we celebrate, the Western anticommunist centers concentrate particularly on Czechoslovakia. Therefore, we must struggle more resolutely and more effectively than was the case heretofore under the conditions existing in our kraj with all means of ideological and mass political action against bourgeois propaganda, ideological subversion, and clerical anticommunism.

We are convinced on a daily basis that requirements for the implementation of a church policy are growing. In this work, it is primarily the national committees which occupy an irreplaceable position.

An analysis of the way in which long-term tasks have been fulfilled in this area indicates that we have achieved numerous positive results. The sector for managing a church policy at the kraj level and in some okreses was strengthened.

To accomplish a growth in the level of Marxist-Leninist training of communists, it is necessary to tenaciously utilize party training as well. Experiences gathered in the okreses of Trnava, Nove Zamky, Trencin involving party organizations from the plastics plant at Nitra, the state properties at Holic, and at many other locations show that party education makes a significant contribution to deepening the ideological unity of the party and in preparing communists for everyday tenacious party work, to the solving of the contemporary tasks of restructuring. However, we also find that education still contains much formalism and theorizing.

It is important to raise the level of party training, particularly the effectiveness of the education and training provided for young communists and for the officials. Toward this end, the restructuring of the system of party education will be initiated in the upcoming training year. It is necessary for kraj and okres committees of the party to train the basic organizations well for taking over increased jurisdictions and responsibilities for the content and organizational management of party education.

Comrades!

The media for mass information and propaganda are also participating in increasing the amount of information at the disposal of working people with regard to party policy and the development of economic propaganda and agitation. The specificity and conceptuality of the work performed by editorial collectives is improving, as is the honesty and criticality of publicized materials, particularly in HLAS LUDU, but also in such okres newspapers as ZITNY OSTROV, NITRIANSKY HLAS, POHRONIE, ZAHORAK, TRNAVSKY HLAS, and others.

We anticipate that the mass communication media in the kraj will, in the future, effectively deepen the degree of public information, will be implementing democratic approaches and economic methods of management, will broadly publicize new and progressive experiences, and will critically judge shortcomings and abuses. This will require all employees of mass information media and propaganda media to bring to bear a high degree of responsibility for the impact of the actions which must effectively aid in fulfilling the current tasks and serve the interests of further developing socialism.

Restructuring also pertains to the superstructure, specifically this is true of educating the young generation and of the activities of the school. "The teacher is the principal actor of restructuring when he clearly and enthusiastically supports us," said M. Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, at the February session of the Central Committee of the CPSU. Consequently, it is necessary to devote systematic care to teachers in the activities of party organs and organizations, to see to their ideological, political, and specialized training, to perfect their pedagogical mastery, and, what is specifically important, to strengthen their authority.

The educational-training system achieved numerous positive results, particularly in realizing the document on the further expansion of the Czechoslovak educational-training system. This is mentioned in the written report and in the analysis which was accomplished by the schools and by state organs.

Nevertheless, numerous shortcomings and problems persist in the educational-training process. The desired degree of assuring the unity of education and training

has not been successfully accomplished. The restructuring of the educational system is frequently accompanied by extensive approaches. There is dissatisfaction with the great overloading of students and with the excessive requirements resulting from the teaching syllabi. The quality of education and training does not even benefit from the excessive number of students in classes, nor from the high amount of shift work performed in some regions of the kraj. We cannot be satisfied with the current status of cadre support for schools. A shortage of qualified teachers in elementary schools exists in the okreses of Senica, Bratislava-rural, and Komarno. There are also serious problems regarding the qualifications of journeyman teachers in specialized education and of educators in middle-level specialized training centers.

We cannot even record these shortcomings. We turn to the communists in the kraj and okres national committees, in party organizations who are active in this sector with the request that they solve these problems speedily and with responsibility. This also requires deepening cooperation between the schools and the family, the enterprise, and social organizations. In conjunction with the restructuring of the organizational structure of the enterprise base, we recommend that central organs unify the system of directing the training of young people for artisan professions.

In the kraj we achieve positive advances in the education of specialists for agriculture, industry, and teachers with an advanced school education.

In the educational-training activities of advanced schools it is necessary that, apart from specialized training, the level of ideological-political training of students be raised so that, following their entrance into practice, they would have the capability of not only managing working collectives well, but also acting upon them politically and educationally. It is most important for restructuring of the content of education to be accomplished in harmony with the development of world science. Of equal importance is the material-technical completion of the establishment of the Machine Technical Faculty at Trnava and the creation of appropriate conditions for the Pedagogical Faculty and for the Agricultural College at Nitra.

More activity than hitherto on the part of party organizations has to be developed with respect to implementing education policy. What is involved is the more consistent implementation of the leading role of the party and the assertion of the right of control in conjunction with the statutes of the CPCZ. It is important for the okres committees of the CPSU to create better conditions to improve the action capability of party organizations in schools.

The resolutions of the kraj conference pertaining to cultural-educational work are being successfully fulfilled. The educational influence exerted by special-interest artistic activity upon workers and young people has

improved in quality. The ideological and esthetic level of undertakings organized by cultural-educational facilities increased. However, it must be openly stated that there are adequate reserves in this area, particularly with regard to a more offensive inclusion of employees of cultural-enlightenment facilities into day-to-day political-educational work, in the area of more effective utilization of the material-technical base in this sphere. We are dissatisfied with the quality and extent of club activity. In the future, we expect the cultural-artistic front to develop more specific activity and exert a greater influence upon the formation of the personality of socialist man. Particular attention must be devoted to the more effective and more coordinated use of all sources in this area and, particularly, the systematic increasing of the educational influence of cultural-enlightenment facilities on the young generation. This is particularly topical at Nitra and Trnava where the largest concentrations of young people exist. In this regard, it is necessary for party organizations and communists who are active in this area to develop greater initiative.

Making a More Express Contribution to Socioeconomic Development

Comrades!

In the kraj party organization, we gave priority to the decisive task of substantially increasing the effectiveness and efficiency of the economy and increasing the quality of manufactured products, making a more express contribution to accelerating social and economic development of society through restructuring the economic mechanism. These were the directions at which the resolutions adopted by the kraj conference were aimed.

The intentions pertaining to socioeconomic development in the kraj for the 8th Five-Year Plan and for the individual years of the plan were reflected each year in the Procedures of the West Slovakia Kraj Committee of the CPSL and in the document calling for the program intensification by 1990. At meetings of the kraj committee of the party, of its presidium, and of its commissions, we regularly evaluated the fulfillment of economic tasks, we sought out points of departure, we mobilized people for their fulfillment. This political-organizational, educational, and cadre work of the party was reflected in the economic development of the kraj.

Over the past 2 years, the dynamics of industrial production rose by 9.5 percent, adjusted outputs rose by 16.3 percent, and the creation of profits by 31.5 percent. Positive results were achieved in applying the results of scientific-technical progress and in fulfilling export requirements. Certain improvements also occurred in the quality of production. Tasks at decisive construction sites in the kraj are being assured, as are tasks involved in international construction sites in the Soviet Union.

We value the work results recorded by collectives at the Vzduchotechnika and the VUMA Plant at Nove Mesto nad Vahom, the heavy machine tool enterprise at Komarno, the nickel smelter at Sereď, the Dusle Plant at Sľa, the ball-bearing plant and the Grafolab Plant at Skalica, the tannery at Bosany, the plastics plant at Nitra, the Merine Plant at Trencin, the glass fiber plant at Nemsova, the Sklopiaste Plant at Trnava, and others which came to terms with their tasks over a period of 2 years and assure task fulfillment in this year as well.

On the other hand, we do not conceal the fact that the expended effort was not reflected in the fulfillment of the intentions of the 8th Five-Year Plan. This is attested to by the fact that over a period of 2 years, adjusted outputs were fulfilled 97.8 percent, product manufacture 99.8 percent, and profits only 94.8 percent. Even if we are recording express improvements for the 1st quarter of this year, it cannot be said that the necessary turnaround has occurred in the intensification of the kraj economy.

The following enterprises show the largest share of unfulfilled tasks: TAZ Trnava, ZDA Partizanske, ZOS Trnava, ZCV Rohoznik, Prefa Velke Levare, JCP Sturovo, ZVL Kolarovo, Calex Zlate Moravce and Chirana at Priestany.

There are several reasons—objective reasons, but primarily subjective ones. In our opinion, one of the decisive factors applicable to these shortcomings is the unclear concept of development pertaining to the production-technical base of enterprises from the standpoint of future market possibilities at home and abroad, which was not reworked over the long pull, the unclear situation regarding innovative activity at home and by the competition, unclarity regarding the method of increasing labor productivity, product quality, and the introduction of the results of science and technology into practice. This is all the more serious since the principles of restructuring the economic mechanism count on increasing the responsibility of enterprises for their own further development.

The objects of systematic criticism are supplier-consumer relations, not only between enterprises, but within the economic production units themselves, something we have repeatedly pointed out. Unfortunately, remedial action is very slow.

A serious problem is also represented by the low level of planning at all levels of management, which is confirmed by the annual adjustment of plans, frequently without the knowledge of territorial party organs. Only over the course of last year more than 40 percent of the enterprises adjusted their plans with some of them objectivizing the situation. Such a status understandably exerts a negative influence upon working collectives, lowers the effectiveness of political-organizational, and ideological work.

Similarly, political action expended in order to increase the quality and efficiency of production is not manifesting itself adequately in practice. Innovated products represent some 8 percent of the total volume of production, which, although it is greater than the all-Slovak average, must not satisfy us because the level of the innovated products is low. Even though we are successfully fulfilling the intentions of the conference as to quality, in many enterprises there are substantial reserves in this area. A shortcoming is that the fulfillment of innovative intentions and technical development are not being reflected to the extent desired in lowering material costs of all kinds.

Working and technological discipline continues to be violated which was also confirmed by the results of verifications undertaken by the Committee for People's Control. As a result, production was halted at the Tesla and Chirana Enterprises at Piestany, at Calex Zlate Moravce, and at the JCP Plant at Sturovo. A shortcoming is that economic management and the party organizations of these enterprises did not draw the appropriate conclusions from this development. Consequently, we are asking communists, managers of all enterprises, to make the battle for higher quality, for work and technological discipline part and parcel of their everyday work.

We also have reserves in raising labor productivity, in applying comprehensive mechanization and robotization, in utilizing the means of production, as well as available working time.

We have repeatedly stressed that the basic prerequisite for the effective utilization of capital assets is the utilization of shift work. Unfortunately, the desired turnaround did not take place. There are enterprises, such as, for example, the CSAO at Nitra, ZTS at Komarno, TOS at Trencin, the Sigma Plant at Nove Zamky, and the SES Plant at Tlmace, where the coefficient of shift work performed by workers has been below the kraj level for a long time.

Considerable funds are tied up in growing supplies. Despite a whole series of measures, this serious problem in the economy of the kraj defies effective solution.

The tied-up reserves are the principal cause in their total accumulation for our failure to make more express progress on the path toward intensification and in the formation of social resources. This necessarily should lead to the drawing of lessons in every party organization and by every party organ and should particularly demand an uncompromising remedy, and managers should be called to party accountability.

Comrades!

The expended effort and political intentions are not commensurate with results in investment construction. We are not satisfied with the fact that the large construction industry, okres construction enterprises, but also investors did not make more express progress in mastering the entire process of investment policy.

The Priemstav and Stavoinindustria Enterprises were unsuccessful in concentrating construction capacities on socially significant projects such as grain silos, completion of the SAM facility at Myjava, and of the dairy at Senica, etc.

The tasks involved in building the set of waterworks at Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros are being fulfilled, particularly thanks to the self-sacrificing work of collectives from the Hydrostav and Vahostav Enterprises. An unfavorable situation exists at the nuclear power plant construction project at Mochovce, where the principal reason for nonfulfillment is a shortage of construction capacity. Despite many measures taken during party control days, the Ministry of Construction and Development of the SSR is not solving this problem—something which could threaten the introduction of two blocks of the nuclear power plant into trial operation within the deadlines set.

We are also not satisfied with the support of tasks involved in comprehensive housing construction. The planned intentions were not achieved with respect to the volume of investments, the number of dwelling units completed, and, primarily, with respect to sanitary facilities. Tasks are not even being fulfilled with respect to reconstruction, modernization, and repair of the housing inventory.

One of the reasons for this is that construction organizations fell seriously behind with respect to increasing labor productivity, raising the quality, the consistent application of new and progressive methods of construction, the slow introduction of brigade forms of work organization, and in comprehensive cost-accounting (khozraschet) methods. We expect future investment construction to proceed more rapidly to eliminate shortcomings in the realization of important tasks set forth in the state plan, of selected centrally evaluated construction projects which are decisive for the future development of electronics, engineering, power production, and the food industry. As regards comprehensive housing construction, particularly with respect to sanitary facilities, it is necessary to fulfill the tasks set forth by the 8th Five-Year Plan to their fullest extent.

Investors and construction enterprises are faced with the responsible task of lowering the inception of construction projects by 20 percent. This demands that they do not permit the plan to include unprepared projects which are overvalued and do not result in the desired effect. It is necessary to prevent disorder on construction sites, to increase quality, and, together with other measures, to assure the shortening of construction time and to lower the number of projects under construction.

Economics as the Main Battlefield

Comrades!

The comprehensive assurance of the tasks of the 8th Five-Year Plan presupposes the development of the political struggle for higher economic efficiency, a struggle to attain economies and a high degree of efficiency in production, and a more express advance with respect to intensification. As was stressed by the ninth session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, we are not retreating from the basic intentions of the 8th Five-Year Plan. Consequently, the task involved in fulfilling the year's plan, to achieve a substantial turnaround in achieving uniformity in the reproduction process looms so large. We are asking communists, economic managers, to learn from the shortcomings of the previous time frame, to solve problems with initiative, to seek out and implement solutions to fulfill the plan for this year and for the whole 5-year plan, and to include working collectives in this activity to a greater extent than was the case heretofore. Briefly said, this is a matter of greater conceptualness and programming in implementing intensification based on concrete conditions at individual work sites.

Similarly, it is necessary to achieve a higher degree of effectiveness in implementing the results of scientific-technical progress and to consistently realize the measures which were adopted by the kraj committee after the fifth session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ in April of last year. These deal with the further development of electronization, the implementation of automation and robotization, increases in the quality and technical level of products, acceleration of the innovation processes, lowering of costs, and the overall improvement in the quality of work of the scientific research base in the kraj.

A correct approach in this direction was chosen, for example, by the okres committees of the CPSL at Topolcany, Nitra, and Trnava, which exerted an influence on the processing of the electronization program based on their own conditions. We ask that this experience be applied in other okreses as well.

Despite the fact that the quality of work performed by the scientific research base in the kraj is improving in quality, something which is confirmed by the results achieved by those scientific research workers whose solutions are valued both at home and abroad, for example, work done by the VUMA collective at Nove Mesto nad Vahom under the leadership of Hero of Socialist Labor Frantisek Slanina, the VUNAR collective, and of the Sigma Plant at Nove Zamky, work done by the Research Institute for Nuclear Power Plants, the Research Institute of the Engineering and Appliance Industry at Piestany, and others, we cannot be satisfied in general with the results coming from scientific research work sites. The kraj committee asks communists, particularly in the scientific and research base to

have the collectives in which they function take a more active part in the modernization of the production-technical base, in implementing comprehensive mechanization, automation, and robotization, in innovation, and in raising the quality of products.

We also see reserves in the closer and more tenacious connection between scientific research facilities and solution of tasks contained in the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress in CEMA Member Countries Through the Year 2000.

Broader use must also be made of the good experiences collected at the ZVL Plant at Kolarovo, at Sklopiast at Trnava, at Chirana at Stara Tura, and other engineering enterprises in the area of establishing direct ties with organizations of CEMA countries. In this direction, we expect greater initiative on the part of communists and management workers.

For all branches of the kraj economy, it is very important to assure the demanding tasks of exports, to achieve a better deal for domestic work in international markets. We stress this despite the fact that the tasks for 2 years of the 5-year plan have been successfully exceeded.

Comrades!

Industry remains the decisive branch which influences socioeconomic development in the kraj. Its dynamism, as can be seen from the 8th Five-Year Plan, will be primarily determined by the fuels-energy complex, by the electronics and engineering industry. Investments made in those branches play a decisive role in effecting structural changes in the kraj economy.

In the development of the fuels and energy complex, it is necessary for communists and working collectives to concentrate their efforts to bring the first aggregate of the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros water project to operation by the year 1990 and to activate the first two blocks of the nuclear power plant at Mochovce. It will be necessary to exert political influence on the realization of the program of comprehensive utilization of heat from the power plants at Bohunice and Mochovce for communal purposes, for industrial production, and for agriculture with greater consistency than heretofore. Similarly, utilization of thermal water and solar energy must be approached more resolutely. In this direction we expect greater assistance from the Federal Ministry of Fuels and Energy, from the State Planning Commission, and from the Ministry of Agriculture and Alimentation of the SSR. We also require communists in the management of kraj national committees to complete their own capacities allowing for the effective utilization of these long-range energy sources.

In view of the planned development of the electronics industry, the kraj committee will be devoting increased attention to an investment of Kcs 2.5 billion at the Tesla Plant at Piestany.

In the economy of the kraj, it is necessary to also implement the realization of additional production programs.

As we stressed in the Presidium of the West Slovakia Kraj Committee of the CPSL, it is necessary to orient party work in enterprises of the Chirana Economic Production Unit toward work intended to fulfill such important tasks as the production of disposable injection syringes, of health, measuring, and regulation equipment. At the nickel smelter at Sered, it is necessary to assure a higher degree of product finalization on the basis of powdered nickel and cobalt salt and the proper utilization of the bath. At the SES Plant at Timac, the production of components for the VVER-1000 reactor must be mastered, and the quality of steam boilers must be improved. At the spring and engineering plants at Brezova, production of single-purpose machines and equipment is to be increased; the automation of feeding wire to the wire mill is to be solved at the wire mill at Hlohovec, development of a new generation of drying facilities is to be accelerated at the Vzduchotechnika Plant at Nove Mesto. Production of machine tools and metal-forming machines using control systems is to be expanded at the TOS Plants at Trencin and at the Smeral Plant at Trnava. At the Elitex Plant at Surany, production of a new generation of textile machines is to be mastered and at the ZVL Plant at Skalica development of production of a new series of bearings is to be assured.

In the chemical industry, it is very important to assure the higher utilization of raw materials, to continue in the realization of the program of small-tonnage production of chemicals, to improve the quality and technical level of products, to expand the assortment, and to produce those products which will permit us to restrict imports from capitalist countries. Great responsibilities in this direction are faced by the party organizations and workers primarily at the Duslo Plant at Sala, at the Chemolac at Smolenice, at the Slovak Silk Mills at Senica, and the Slovakofarm Pharmaceutical Plant at Hlohovec.

At meetings of the kraj committee, we drew attention a number of times to the need to improve the evenness of plan fulfillment and to improve the quality of supplying the domestic market with the required consumer goods. Here, we expect a more express effort from party organizations and from working collectives under their control at the Mier Plant at Topolcany, the ZDA Plant at Partizanske, the Trikota Plant at Vrbove, the Calex Plant at Zlate Moravce, the SAM Plant at Myjava, the clothing enterprise at Trencin, the Elektrosvit Enterprise at Nove Zamky, the LKZ Enterprise at Holic, as well as from production cooperatives throughout the kraj.

The attainment of results is shared also by employees of railroad and automotive transportation. However, we are dissatisfied with the constantly high seasonal character and lack of safety in transportation. There are shortcomings in the culture of traveling, particularly with respect to student and worker commuter travel, which

are the subjects of frequent criticism. The assurance of the required turnaround is not only a matter for transport workers, but also national committees and travelers alike.

Apart from valuing the work of workers in commerce and in public catering for fulfilling their tasks, we require additional quality increases in customer services. It is necessary to definitively deal with losses suffered by enterprises of public catering. In all commercial systems, it is necessary to achieve a decisive turnaround in quality, hygiene, and consumer protection.

Communists and employees in the communications industry are faced with the task of further improving the quality of their work, primarily of expanding automated telephone communications and increasing the capacity of such communications. The transmission network for television and radio signals will need to be built and modernized and, primarily, the quality of delivery services needs to be improved.

Reserves Also Exist in the Agricultural Complex

Comrades!

The kraj conference set demanding goals also for the agricultural-food complex, goals which we have gradually implemented. The fact that we successfully assured the smooth supply of the market with foodstuffs is considered to be decisive.

Apart from valuing the self-sacrificing work done by the collectives in this branch, it must be noted that not everything was as successful as we had planned. Although in comparison with the average for the 7th Five-Year Plan, the volume of gross agricultural production rose by 2 percent, the planned pace of production was not attained, particularly as a result of the shortfall in the production of grain, fodder, and industrial crops. The unfavorable climatic conditions also contributed to this development.

Thanks to the self-sacrificing work of farmers, and as a result of expanded activity, it was possible to expressly reduce arrears in the production of grain during 2 years of the current 5-year plan. In this regard, we value particularly the results attained by farmers in the okreses of Dunajska Streda, Topolcany, and Trencin, who are assuring and are continuing to exceed plan production of grains during the first 2 years of the 5-year plan.

Fulfillment of kraj conference resolutions pertaining to the protein program, and particularly involving soybeans, was assured.

Not all agricultural enterprises succeeded in producing sufficient high-quality bulk fodders. We are not even satisfied with the results in the production of potatoes, fruit, and vegetables. This is particularly true of the

cultivation of sugar beets, especially in the okreses of Levice, Nitra, Bratislava-rural, Nove Zamky, and Komarno, where the yield did not exceed 32 tons per hectare.

Over the past 2 years, bulk buying targets were met in livestock production. In 1987, however, milk deliveries fell behind. We critically evaluate certain negative developmental tendencies with respect to utility and reproduction parameters. We are disturbed by the decline in the number of beef cattle and cows, which is showing up particularly in the okres of Levice, Bratislava-rural, Komarno, and Trencin.

A further expansion of the material-technical base in agriculture was recorded. During 2 years, investments amounted to more than Kcs 5.5 billion.

There were advances in the application of scientific-technical progress. In plant production, this involves industrial systems of raising corn, legumes, and other crops. Our system for raising corn for grain is being successfully realized by the unified agricultural cooperative at Ostrov, as well as in the fraternal Saratov Oblast of the USSR, and the system for raising flax is being realized through the unified agricultural cooperative at Lehnice in the Hungarian People's Republic. In livestock production, the transfer of embryos is expanding. The activities of the joint Czechoslovak-Soviet laboratory at the Research Institute for Livestock Production at Nitra are also expanding. The first steps have been taken in applying biotechnology in protecting plants, in the feeding of agricultural animals, and in the utilization of enzymes in technological processes in the food industry.

Apart from solving production tasks, attention was also devoted to the efficiency of production. The attained results do not satisfy us. For example, compared to the average for the 7th Five-Year Plan, profits over the first 2 years of the 8th Five-Year Plan declined by 12 percent. The measure of profitability is also showing a declining tendency. It is at its lowest in the okreses of Levice and Nove Zamky, areas which also have the largest number of enterprises with the lowest level of economic management. The level of indebtedness is also high, particularly in the okreses of Nitra, Galanta, Topolcany, Trencin, and Bratislava-rural. This will have a serious influence upon the economies of enterprises, particularly under conditions of self-financing. We cannot be satisfied even with the cost of production. This is particularly true of production of beef cattle. An analysis confirms that the causes are mainly in subjective factors, the low degree of utility, and in high nonproductive costs.

This proves that the battle for increasing the efficiency of production is not being carried out everywhere adequately. This is also documented by the fact that last year nine agricultural enterprises had to be financially subsidized by more than Kcs 60 million.

In the food industry, production over 2 years rose by 2.8 percent, deliveries to market inventories were exceeded by Kcs 400 million, export targets were met, the assortment of products was expanded, and product quality increased. However, we are disturbed by the failure to fulfill planned quality indicators as a result of imbalances in financial and material accounts, but also as a result of the inadequate readiness of the management sphere for more demanding economic conditions.

The intentions of the kraj conference with respect to forestry, both in terms of extraction and cultivation activity, and in the reforestation of low-production forests were met. In water management, water resources for supplying the population, industry, and agriculture were expanded. The number of inhabitants hooked to public water and sewer facilities increased.

Considerable attention was devoted to the creation and protection of the environment. The decrease in agricultural arable land was halted. The construction of a wastewater purification plant at Dunajska Streda is being realized and the construction of other such facilities is being prepared.

Measures taken in technological processes at the Duslo Plant at Sala and at the nickel smelter at Sered contributed toward lowering harmful emissions.

Comrades!

The assurance of a higher pace in agriculture in the outyears of the 5-year plan and a growth in market deliveries will be possible only through additional consistent intensification of production and the more active utilization of the capability of people.

The kraj committee of the party considers it inevitable to continue to devote attention to making the land more fertile and protecting it. We consider it to be pressing to fulfill the adopted measures intended to prevent flooding, particularly in the okreses of Galanta, Nove Zamky, Komarno, and measures intended to reduce the effects of wind erosion by erecting comprehensive windbreaks on a total of 600 km of land during the 5-year plan.

Also, there must be a turnaround in rendering the sandy soils at Zahoria in the watersheds of the Hron and Ipel Rivers more fertile. In conjunction with the construction of the set of waterworks at Gabcikovo-Nagymaros, it is necessary to create all conditions for the fulfillment of the already worked-out biological project. We point this out because the solution of ecological questions is falling behind the pace of construction of the water project. As was pointed out by the Presidium of the West Slovakia Kraj Committee of the CPSL in March of this year, we are requesting a more actively coordinated approach from all interested institutions, particularly the Ministry of Forestry and Water Management and the wood processing industry of the SSR in solving this serious problem.

We shall continue to build irrigation facilities. The plan calls for irrigating 30 percent of the available arable land by the end of 1990. We expect the more efficient utilization of irrigation, particularly in the okreses of Komarno, Senica, and Trnava. We ask the Ministry of Agriculture and Alimentation and the Ministry of the Forestry and Water Management Industry and the Wood Processing Industry of the SSR to adopt a more active approach with respect to the more comprehensive utilization of the water project at Kralova and the Morava River.

Fulfillment of the grain production program continues to be the decisive task. Our goal is to fulfill the production tasks of the 5-year plan. That this is possible was confirmed by the results of last year. It does require heightened effort, particularly in the okreses of Galanta, Nove Zamky, Komarno, Nitra, which recorded the largest arrears.

Communists in agricultural enterprises, services, and in the scientific research base must stand at the head of this effort to fulfill these goals. In every enterprise, this requires the adoption of specific measures, the raising of the level of agronomic discipline, better utilization of the production potential of individual crops, a reduction in harvest losses, the development of the activities of individuals, the dissemination of experiences gathered by lead enterprises which have been recording outstanding results within the framework of the movement to achieve 7- and 9-ton [per acre?] yields.

Great Responsibility for Self-Sufficiency

The task to intensify the raising of corn for grain remains a part of the overall grain program.

Fulfillment of the protein program, particularly the irrational utilization of people and the solving of deficits in the production of fodders, remain at the center of our political work.

As we have already stressed numerous times, we demand a fundamental turnaround in the cultivation of sugar beets. This requires a more active approach on the part of enterprises in mastering the technology of sugar beet cultivation, better commitment on the part of the scientific research base, and a minimization of harvest losses.

We expect communists in the management sphere to conduct a decisive struggle for the attainment of self-sufficiency in fodder production in every enterprise, particularly through promoting intensification of fodder production. This is particularly topical in the okreses of Galanta, Komarno, Levice, Nitra, Nove Zamky, but also at Dunajska Streda.

The West Slovakia Kraj has a great responsibility for the production and smooth supply of vegetables and fruit, not only with respect to its own inhabitants, but also to supply Bratislava and other regions. Assurance of the

demand requires that each okres attain self-sufficiency in the basic types of vegetables, improve the quality of supplier-consumer relationships, expand direct deliveries and purchases at firm prices. This also means supporting the production of vegetables by private plot farmers in harmony with the social interests.

We expect farmers in the okreses of Dunajska Streda, Komarno, Nove Zamky, and Senica to assure the market demands for early potatoes and we expect purchasing and commercial organizations to move this crop rapidly to consumers.

Particular attention is required by the further intensification of fruit and hop production. An extraordinarily important task is the comprehensive finalization of the reconstruction of vineyards, particularly in the Male Karpaty region.

In livestock production, we consider the principal program to be the raising of beef cattle. As we have already stated, we demand that communist managers in the management sphere renew the dynamics of meat and milk utilization, particularly in the unified agricultural cooperatives at Neverice, Nova Dedina, Chotin, Batovce, Bina, Muzla, Vysoka pri Morave, SM Sturovo, and elsewhere. In the raising of hogs, the social demand must be assured, particularly through realization of the approved program of intensification.

In harmony with the requirement to reduce the extent of capital construction, it is important to not only speed up and render the entire investment process more efficient, but to orient it toward decisive production sectors and toward the creation of the environment.

From the engineering industry, we demand the finalizing of the solution pertaining to the production of machines which are less energy-intensive and have a high rate of productivity, the lowering of losses which will create the prerequisites for making the transition to industrial-technological production lines. Similarly, the chemical industry must be able to meet the justified demands of agriculture in a better way.

New conditions also require agriculture to make its approach to the results of science more demanding and to apply them in practice. In improving the quality of the management process, it is necessary to apply microelectronics, robotization, and computer technology at a faster pace.

In plant production, it is necessary to concentrate attention on the comprehensive utilization of agrotechnical findings, of alimentation, on the higher utilization of the yield potential of efficient varieties. It is demanded that the findings of biological methods of protecting plants be applied more rapidly and that new directions in biotechnology, in plant and livestock production be further expanded.

Major responsibility for realizing scientific-technical findings, for the results of production must be borne by communists, party organizations in biological and technical services, in addition to research institutes and the Advanced School of Agricultural Sciences at Nitra.

The kraj committee of the party considers it decisive for the food industry to raise the level of utilizing raw materials and products by producing high-quality products responsive to the requirements of rational alimentation.

New conditions demand improvements in contractual, coproduction, and integration relationships with initial production enterprises, particularly in the brewing industry, in the starch industry, in the canning industry, in the sugar industry, but also in the dairy and meat products industry. It will surely be correct for enterprises of the food industry to begin establishing its own research facilities and sales outlets.

Even in this sector, economic questions are coming to the fore, particularly with respect to the efficiency of the reproduction process. This requires that communists influence workers to better utilize existing capacities, to raise the technological level of production, and of discipline. Progress must, for example, even be made in the level of product packaging, increasing product durability, as well as product attractiveness for the consumer.

We demand that communists in the forestry industry consistently realize the comprehensively utilized timber, increase their overall care for young forest stands, intensify the protection of the forest against harmful factors, and utilize modern methods of reforestation. In the water management sector, additional conditions for assuring an adequate quantity of potable and industrial water are to be created, their sources are to be protected, and the public water supply and the sewerage system is to be expanded. The construction of large-scale wastewater treatment plants must continue and possibilities for the construction of small wastewater treatment plants within the framework of Project "Z" [community self-improvement program].

The attainment of a further positive turnaround in the creation and protection of the environment requires communists in kraj and okres national committees, in industrial and agricultural enterprises to devote a greater amount of attention to these questions and to consistently support those concepts which were approved by the kraj committee of the party.

Assuring the Requirements and Interests of Inhabitants

Comrades!

One of the decisive tasks facing party organs and organizations in supporting the economic policies of the party is the gradual realization of the principles of restructuring the economic mechanism.

In the judgment and expressions of territorial party organs with respect to the proposals covering ongoing changes in the organizational structure and with regard to proposals for the establishment of state enterprises, it is necessary to push for all-societal interests, to proceed from a standpoint of production-technological and economic analyses which prove the economic viability of socialist entrepreneurship and management and to assure their long-term development on the basis of complete cost accounting and the principles of self-financing.

Important tasks await party organs and organizations in the experimental verification of the principles of socialist self-management of working collectives and in the elections of enterprise directors. Experiences gathered at Tatra at Banovce, the state properties at Zelizovce, and the unified agricultural cooperative at Bukova, where elections of managers were conducted, show that political work in preparing these elections must not be underestimated. This must be the principal task for party organs and organizations in electing managers and self-administration groups in the newly formed state enterprises.

Within the framework of the centrally controlled industry, more than one-fourth of the enterprises in the kraj are involved in a comprehensive experiment calling for increasing independence and taking responsibility for effective development.

Where political and organizational preparations for the experiment were good, as, for example, in the plastics plant at Nitra, at the Grafobal Plant at Skalica, at the ZTS in Komarno, there are good results with respect to the growth of efficiency and worker participation in management. Unfortunately, this cannot be said for the majority of enterprises involved in the experiment. The causes lie in their own shortcomings, but, in many cases, also in the shortcomings of the assistance rendered by superior organs. We continue to face the task of evaluating the achieved results, of disseminating the experiences gathered by the political leadership of working collectives, and deepening of socialist democracy.

Currently, the principles of restructuring in the agricultural-food complex are being intensively finalized. An entire organizational structure is being clarified. Understandably, this results in some open problems. We believe that the economic instruments should create conditions for expanding reproduction in leading average agricultural enterprises.

The majority of the organizations in the kraj are seeking an active approach as to how they can assure self-financing under their own conditions, on the basis of restructuring. However, some of the managers continue to rely on the central authorities to solve shortcomings in the production process and in their management activities or they feel that restructuring will automatically solve these problems.

They do not seek points of departure in the structure of production, in management activities, in deepening the cost-accounting principles of management, in expanding the brigade form of work and remuneration, in more consistent application of the findings of science and technology. Therefore, even here we stress that it is the communists who must stand at the head of accelerating the entire process of restructuring the economic mechanism.

Comrades!

Our party has always considered the core of its policy to be the raising of the living standard for workers. Socialist society expends great sums of money for social and personal consumption, particularly on the development of education, culture, on strengthening socialist certitudes, on health care, on supporting the family, support for mothers and children, and on the constant improvement of the working and natural environment. This is also confirmed by the results achieved in our kraj. Monetary income for the population grew over the 2-year period by 6 percent; pensions cost more than Kcs 10.5 billion. On average, the per capita expenditures in the kraj amounted to virtually Kcs 11,000 per year for social consumption.

We consider it to be correct for enterprises and organizations to adopt specific programs of social care, on the basis of resolutions adopted by the kraj conference, for the period of the 8th Five-Year Plan, and to gradually introduce these programs into life.

The participation and coresponsibility of economic organizations with national committees is growing in solving working and living conditions for our people. Advances were made in amalgamating the funds of enterprises and establishments for the construction and operation of social facilities. Care for the workers, for the creation of better working and social conditions, is increasing. Good results are being recorded by the TOS Plants at Trencin, by Duslo at Sala, by Merina at Trencin, by Tatra at Banovce, by the SAM Plant at Myjava, and tens of unified agricultural cooperatives and state farms; the competition between agricultural enterprises to improve living and working conditions also helps in this respect.

It must be critically pointed out, however, that such an approach does not exist in all enterprises. We demand the assurance of better working and social conditions, particularly for women in the shoe industry, the textile industry, and in agriculture.

Consequently, it is necessary for party organizations to be more demanding with respect to responsible managers and to require them and also officials of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement to solve the tasks of social programs, to improve the working environment, to improve the amount of hygienic and social equipment at work sites, to expand factory catering, and to reduce the number of high-risk work sites without fail.

We have made advances in improving the quality of health care, the level of preventive care is increasing. Care for invalids is being improved, services for the elderly and chronically ill are being expanded. Social health facilities amounting to more than 340 beds have been established.

We cannot be satisfied with these results. The task for communists and party organizations continues to be to seek increases in the quality of health care services. It will be very important to fight against all evils in health care which are the subject of justified criticism by the citizenry.

Despite the successes which have been achieved in caring for people, we cannot be satisfied with the comprehensive solution and with the support of the requirements and interests of our citizens. A whole series of problems persists in the provision of high-quality services, in meeting the needs of the domestic market, in the creation of working and living conditions. These questions must consistently be at the center of our attention.

Communists at the Head of Revolutionary Changes

Comrades!

From that which we have said it is clear that the kraj party organization is faced with demanding tasks. Their common denominator is the need to contribute to the acceleration of socioeconomic development, to effectively promote the comprehensive restructuring of society and the development of socialist democracy.

The decisive directions for our future progress in implementing the provisions of the 17th Congress of the CPCZ stem from the resolutions of the seventh and ninth sessions of the Central Committee of the CPCZ and from the subsequent sessions of the Central Committee of the CPSL.

The consistent realization of these provisions primarily requires party organs and particularly basic organizations to make sure that the party and communists stand at the head of revolutionary changes, exert influence upon the political processes of restructuring the economic mechanism and the development of socialist democracy. We consider it to be a decisive task to increase the activity and combativeness of the entire kraj party organization, of all communists. This requires the consistent application of the Leninist style of work, the Leninist methods and forms of political leadership, it requires the promotion of democratic centralism, collective decisionmaking, criticism and self-criticism.

New demands levied upon the work of the party require that the activities of kraj and okres party committees, of elected officials, and the entire apparatus be improved in terms of quality. In conjunction with the resolutions of the seventh session of the Central Committee of the

CPCZ, the programmatic functions of these bodies must be strengthened and the control over the fulfillment of adopted resolutions must be improved. Findings gathered as a result of political work in okreses and decisive organizations need to be publicized, the political situation and the opinions of people must be analyzed. The work of communists in national committees and in social organizations affiliated with the National Front must be effectively coordinated.

Particular attention must be devoted to deepening the party's influence in the economy. Economic organs and communist managers must be consistently required to solve open questions and to fulfill economic goals.

We require okres committees of the CPSL to adopt measures aimed at increasing the effectiveness of management and at rendering specific assistance to basic organizations. Attention should be focused at locations where party work is not responsive to contemporary requirements. In this way, conditions should be created to increase the commitment of each member and candidate member of the party. Not a single communist should be outside party control.

The political responsibility of party organs, primarily of basic organizations, for the growth and increase in quality of the membership base must be substantially increased, as it is stated in the measures which were adopted by the West Slovakia Kraj Committee of the CPSL following the third session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ.

The new conditions of restructuring and democratization of society require improvements in the quality of cadre work. Even in effecting secret elections and competition, we must assure that the influence of the party upon the selection and displacement of cadres is intensified. Briefly said, all cadre work must be infused with greater conceptuality, more responsibility, and a better systematic approach.

The development of socialist democracy requires new approaches in the activities of social organizations of the National Front and in the work of national committees. What we are interested in is having the workers more closely involved in managing social affairs. The implementation of this line of the party in organs and organizations of the National Front and in national committees must be supported primarily by more active work on the part of communists which work in these organizations.

In ideological work, it is necessary to progress more intensively with respect to the process of restructuring which has already begun. We consider it to be key in this area for communists and workers to understand—as was stressed by the ninth session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, that the line calling for the acceleration of restructuring and democratization cannot mean only the rectifying of accumulated problems and shortcomings or

some kind of partial improvement in the existing extensive type of development. It is and must be a matter of achieving a fundamental revolutionary turnaround toward intensive development, an organic connection between socialism and the scientific-technical revolution, the creation of a qualitatively new status of socialist society in the interest of people and for the people, a strengthening of the attractiveness and position of socialism, on the international scale.

From this, it is clear that we must devote consistent attention primarily to the content of ideological work, to aim it at the decisive tasks of the current era. We must see to it that ideological work progresses in close continuity with the development and education of the personality of socialist man, with the formation of his patriotic and international feelings, and his world view orientation. This requires a continuation in the improvement of the quality of proven forms and the seeking of new forms and methods of ideological functioning. Emphasis is to be placed on personal agitation, on the forms of the party's dialogue with the masses. Our functions should be oriented in such a way that people would understand us, that we should be able to react to their views, reminders, problems, and cares.

An inseparable component of the effort to achieve higher effectiveness in ideological and mass-political work is the improvement of its management, as well as the cadre and material support for this process. Currently, this requires that party organs and organizations simplify the efforts exerted by all participants of ideological propaganda through the action of communists.

In assuring the fulfillment of the resolutions of the 17th Congress of the CPCZ, the economy becomes the principal battleground for the party. Key importance for the goals of the 5-year plan is ascribed to the comprehensive fulfillment of tasks for this year. It is precisely here that the political influence of party organs and organizations must be felt more expressly. The assurance of evenness in the fulfillment of the plan by every working collective is of extraordinary importance. This is the basic prerequisite for raising quality and efficiency in production.

It is the duty of party organs and organizations to exert political influence upon the economy so as to bring about an express turnaround in the intensification of the economy of the kraj. This requires strict controls pertaining to the fulfillment of the programs involved in the Intensification 1990 drive. Material costs and inventories must be consistently reduced, better use must be made of basic assets, labor productivity must be increased, work and technological discipline must be strengthened.

A topical requirement levied upon the party's economic policy is the increasing of responsibility on the part of communists—managers of enterprises and establishments involved in supplying the domestic market, in fulfilling the terms of supplier-consumer contracts, and in handling exports.

A fundamental turnaround must occur with respect to applying scientific-technical progress in practice. Under the control of the party, it is necessary to undertake the fulfillment of the measures which we adopted after the fifth session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ. We must create conditions for the more active participation of enterprises and organizations in the kraj with respect to scientific-technical and production cooperation with the Soviet Union and with the other socialist countries, particularly for the fulfillment of tasks contained in the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress in CEMA Member Countries.

We consider the assurance of interruption-free supply of foodstuffs to the market to be the decisive aspect of party work in the agricultural-food complex. The prerequisite for this is an increase in the share the kraj will have in attaining self-sufficiency in agricultural and food production. This calls for increasing the pace of agricultural production through consistent intensification, through the fuller utilization of the results of scientific-technical progress.

The focal task in plant production is the fulfillment of the tasks outlined by the 8th Five-Year Plan in the production of grain. In addition, it is necessary to more actively solve the shortcomings in the production of technical crops, vegetables, and fruit. We should assure the self-sufficiency of every agricultural enterprise with respect to the production of fodders. The prerequisite for fulfillment of these tasks is the consistent realization of adopted measures pertaining to the protection and increase of fertility of the land inventory.

In livestock production, it is necessary to assure social demands for livestock products, particularly meat and milk.

In the food industry, it is necessary to exert political influence upon the level of comprehensive processing to which raw materials from primary agricultural production are subjected, to increase the quality and innovation of products in harmony with the requirements for rational alimentation.

The entire agricultural-food complex has extraordinarily topical tasks facing it with respect to increasing the efficiency of the reproduction process. Party organizations must exert an influence upon these problems more expressly than heretofore.

It is important for communists to connect the fulfillment of economic goals with the realization of the principles of restructuring the economic mechanism, for them to exert political influence, and to guide the entire process, as well as to publicize the experiences gathered.

As was stressed by the ninth session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, in implementing restructuring, it is not necessary to merely wait for directives from the

central authorities, but rather to actively solve production problems and problems of management, to more boldly promote the principles of self-financing and self-administration, as well as meritorious remuneration.

To fulfill demanding tasks, it is necessary to develop the working activity of citizens and young people to a broader extent than heretofore, to consistently introduce into everyday life the Challenge of the Heroes of Socialist Labor from within our kraj, dated November of last year and aimed at the comprehensive fulfillment of the 8th Five-Year Plan.

Honored comrades!

In the name of all communists of our kraj, I sincerely thank the Central Committee of the CPCZ and the Central Committee of the CPSL for the consistent help rendered to the West Slovakia Kraj party organization.

We express the conviction that the conclusions of the discussions held at the kraj conference will expressly contribute toward the implementation of the strategic line of acceleration and implementing the tasks of the restructuring, they will lead to the activation of party organs and organizations, of communists in the direction of solving contemporary revolutionary tasks.

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[Text] The agricultural cooperative system is an integral and equal part of the socialist economic system in the CSSR. The basic mission of the agricultural cooperative system is to satisfy society's demand for food.

The strategy of accelerating socioeconomic development in the agricultural cooperative system requires a substantial rise in the growth rate of labor productivity and greater efficiency of the entire replacement process through the more intensive utilization of R & D results, closer participation in the socialist international division of labor, and imaginative application of the cooperative farmers' experience and creative efforts.

The unified agricultural cooperatives perform their economic, social and public tasks in line with the policy of the CPCZ, the leading and guiding force in socialist society and the socialist state. The CPCZ organizations at the unified agricultural cooperatives, and at the joint ventures formed by such cooperatives, are the political core of their collectives. To satisfy national needs, these party organizations unite the efforts of the cooperatives, management and collectives, and United-Front-affiliated voluntary public organizations. The party organizations exercise the right of party control over the cooperatives management, and ensure implementation of CPCZ cadre policy.

In accordance with their own bylaws, the National Front-affiliated voluntary public organizations—namely the Union of Cooperative Farmers at the unified agricultural cooperatives, the trade union at the joint ventures, and the Socialist Youth Union—help to develop the creative activity of the cooperative membership and employees, to make them more responsible for the results of economic and social activity, to safeguard the younger generation's interests and ensure their education.

The agricultural cooperative system is based primarily on the principles of voluntarism, equality, cooperative democracy including socialist self-management, reconciliation of the individual members' interests with those of the unified agricultural cooperative and entire society, conformity to the plan, and the protection of property held in socialist cooperative ownership.

To create comprehensive conditions for the fulfillment of these tasks and achievement of the set objectives, the Federal Assembly of the CSSR hereby enacts the following law:

Part I. General Provisions

Section 1. The Unified Agricultural Cooperative

1) The unified agricultural cooperative (hereinafter "the cooperative") is a socialist organization, a voluntary association of members to engage in farming, as well as food production and other activities. It conducts its entrepreneurial activity in conformity with the state plan of economic and social development (hereinafter "the state plan"), on the principles of full khozraschet [cost accounting system] and cooperative democracy.

2) The cooperative is also a voluntary public organization that contributes toward the development of socialist social relations and, through its activity, helps to satisfy the social and cultural needs of its members.

3) The cooperative farms property that it owns or holds subject to collective or other joint usufruct. It is the right and duty of the cooperative to increase and improve such property, to use it fully, expediently and economically, to dispose of it and preserve it, so as to achieve the best possible economic results and to fully satisfy socialist society's needs. The cooperative's property includes also property rights that the cooperative has acquired.

4) The cooperative's membership manages its affairs through the membership meeting and the cooperative's elected management, in accordance with generally binding statutory regulations and the cooperative's bylaws.

5) The cooperative is liable for the results of its operations, to which the incomes of the membership and individual members are directly linked.

6) The cooperative is a legal entity. It can enter into contracts in its own name and is responsible for the obligations ensuing from such contracts.

Section 2. Cooperative's Tasks

Specifically the cooperative:

a) Ensures primarily the development of socialist farm production, in agreement with the goals and tasks of the state plan;

b) Preserves and fully utilizes all land and other production assets and resources, to satisfy socialist society's growing needs and requirements;

c) Increases the intensity and efficiency of production, by employing the advances in research and development, and progressive methods and forms of organization and management;

d) Supports the work-related initiative of its members in the course of performing the cooperative's tasks, and creates conditions for the members' participation in management on the principle of cooperative democracy;

e) Helps its members upgrade their skills, and to this end may establish its own or joint educational facilities; creates conditions to train youths for blue-collar professions;

f) Strives to satisfy socioeconomic and social needs in accordance with society's requirements and within its own means, and to develop the activity and hobbies of its members, including retired and partially disabled members.

Section 3. Cooperation Within the Agricultural Cooperative System

To create more favorable prerequisites for the performance of their tasks, cooperatives may organize expedient cooperation among themselves and with other socialist organizations, in accordance with the principles of equality and mutual economic benefits, and other principles of the agricultural cooperative system (Sections 67-77). Within the framework of such cooperation, they may form joint ventures and cooperative associations.

Section 4. Cooperative's and Joint Venture's Relations With the State

1) In accordance with its management-organizing function, primarily by means of generally binding statutory regulations, the socialist state creates the conditions for the economic, social and public development of the cooperative and the joint enterprises.

2) The state plan's provisions—namely the economic standards, specific tasks, limits and subsidies—apply directly to the cooperative and joint ventures; the state plan determines which of these provisions is binding on the cooperative and joint ventures.

3) Restriction of, or interference in, the activity and territorial operations of the cooperative and the joint venture is permissible only under the conditions, and in the manner, specified by law.

4) When a government agency entrusted with economic administration interferes in the cooperative's or the joint venture's activity in violation of generally binding statutory regulations, the cooperative or the joint venture may seek protection from the Office of Economic Arbitration, under the conditions specified by law.¹

5) When a government agency entrusted with economic administration causes material damage to the cooperative or the joint venture by interfering in their activity, the agency is obliged to compensate the cooperative or joint venture for the material damage. The conditions under which compensation is paid, the extent of compensation for material damage, as well as the instances when compensation may not be claimed, are specified by law.¹

6) When the activity of the cooperative or joint venture causes material damage to the state or another person, the cooperative or joint venture is obliged to pay compensation for the damage, under the conditions and to the extent specified by law.

7) The cooperative and the joint venture develop their activity on the principles of conformity to the plan and economic competition, so as to carry out their missions successfully, while taking full advantage of all the opportunities the socialist legal system provides. In conjunction with this, they assume reasonable economic risk.

8) The cooperative and the joint venture may not place their own interests above those of society. In particular, they may not abuse their economic position at the expense of others or act in any other way against society's interests.

Section 5. State Control

The cooperative and the joint venture may be audited only by agencies whose control functions are regulated by law. Audits must contribute toward making more efficient the economic, social and public activity of the cooperative or joint venture. When necessary, the state agencies perform this function with the participation of the control and audit commission of the cooperative or joint venture.

Section 6. Information System and Financial Statement

1) Pursuant to generally binding statutory regulations, the cooperative and the joint venture are obliged to process, maintain and supply socioeconomic information, as well as information for planning and preparing the state budgets (hereinafter "information").

2) Information may be requested from the cooperative and the joint venture only to the extent, and in the manner, specified by generally binding statutory regulations.

3) The cooperative and the joint venture are obliged to maintain accounts in the prescribed manner, and to prepare annual financial statements that they must submit to the state agencies concerned.

Section 7. Prices

1) The cooperative and the joint venture sell their products and supply their work and services at prices, respectively for compensation, that have been set or negotiated in accordance with the regulations on pricing.

2) The cooperative and the joint venture must comply with the state regulations on pricing. The resources gained through unjustified violations of the pricing regulations, unless returned immediately to the overcharged customer, must be paid into the state budget. For violations of pricing discipline the cooperative and the joint venture are liable in accordance with generally binding statutory regulations.

Section 8. Collaboration With National Committees, National Front Platforms

1) In their economic, social and public activity the cooperative and the joint venture collaborate with the pertinent national committees and participate in the comprehensive economic and social development of the national committees' areas, in the manner and under the conditions specified by law. In their activity the cooperative and the joint venture are obliged to comply with the resolutions that the national committees issue within the scope of their authority. The pertinent national committees likewise comment on the development of the cooperative and the joint venture, and on basic changes in the object of their economic and social activity.

2) The cooperative and the joint venture participate in drafting and implementing the National Front's platforms.

Section 9. Environmental Protection and Enhancement, Rational Use of Natural Resources

1) The cooperative and the joint venture are obliged to organize their economic and social activity in a way that will most effectively protect the environment from the

harmful effects of their operations. In particular, the cooperative and the joint venture must not pose a threat to public health. They undertake and finance measures to protect the environment.

2) The cooperative and the joint venture are responsible for the rational use and protection of natural resources.

3) The cooperative and the joint ventures are obliged to use economically and expediently the by-products of their economic activity, or create conditions that will enable others to use the by-products economically. To this end they must maintain records of the by-products, protect them, and use them in a manner that will not pose a threat to the environment.

4) In implementing measures to protect and enhance the environment, and in using natural resources rationally, the cooperative and the joint venture collaborate with the national committee concerned.

Section 10. Cooperative Conventions and Conferences

1) The cooperatives hold national conventions and conferences to discuss their economic, social and public activity.

2) On the proposal of the Central Committee of the Union of Cooperative Farmers, the CSSR Government convenes the national convention of cooperatives, usually every five years.

3) The appropriate state agency and body of the Union of Cooperative Farmers convene conferences of the cooperatives.

Part II. Cooperative's Formation, Operation, and Cessation

Section 11. Cooperative's Formation

1) Formation of a cooperative requires the advance approval of the government agency entrusted with economic administration. Furthermore:

a) The resolution of the cooperative's organizing meeting and its composition;

b) Adoption of the cooperative's bylaws;

c) Election of the cooperative's management.

2) The cooperative can acquire rights and assume obligations as of the day it is entered in the enterprise records.

3) The cooperative files the application for entering it in the enterprise records. To its application the cooperative must attach its bylaws, the preliminary approval of the government agency entrusted with economic administration, the resolution of the cooperative's organizing meeting, and its composition.

Section 12. Cooperative's Bylaws

The cooperative's bylaws (hereinafter "the bylaws") are the cooperative's basic internal rules that the cooperative drafts in accordance with the present law and other generally binding statutory regulations. The bylaws must contain:

a) The cooperative's name which clearly identifies the cooperative as a unified agricultural cooperative, and the cooperative's location;

b) The purpose of the cooperative's economic and social activity;

c) The members' rights and obligations;

d) Provisions for the care of retired members, and the securing of conditions that enable partially disabled members to work and be useful members of society;

e) The cooperative's organization, management, officers and bodies;

f) Designation of the cooperative's management with disciplinary authority and the scope of their authority.

Section 13. Purpose of Cooperative's Economic Activity

1) The cooperative is obliged to engage primarily in farming. In the interest of farm production's further development, the cooperative must farm prudently and efficiently its arable land and forests, and breed fish in the streams, lakes and fishponds in its use.

2) The cooperative may:

a) Process agricultural and forestry raw materials, and make food products from them;

b) Perform activities and produce goods for the needs of agriculture and the food industry; but only with consent if special regulations require consent for such activity;

c) To undertake work and offer services for individuals;

d) To sell the goods it produces.

3) With the advance consent of the agency entrusted with economic administration, the object of the cooperative's economic activity may include also other activity, provided it does not involve inefficient use of farmland and is not pursued at the expense of farm production proper.

Section 14. Foreign Economic Activity

1) In its economic activity the cooperative takes advantage also of participation in the international division of labor, primarily within the framework of socialist economic integration.

2) According to the rules specified by law, the cooperative may engage in foreign economic activity, usually on the principle of providing the necessary foreign exchange through self-financing. Under the conditions specified by law, the cooperative has the right to establish and maintain direct relations with the organizations of states participating in socialist economic integration.

Section 15. Foreign-Exchange Fund

1) The cooperative has the right to set up a foreign-exchange fund. It obtains the resources for this fund, in accordance with foreign-exchange standards, from the foreign exchange earned in export, as the net balance of cooperative deliveries, or through the sale of patent licenses; also from savings of allocated foreign exchange, or from foreign-exchange grants.

2) The resources in the foreign-exchange fund serve to finance the development of the cooperative's economic activity, to pay for its import needs, to meet its foreign-exchange obligations, and to repay bank credits used for the foreign-exchange fund.

3) The resources in the foreign-exchange fund formed by the cooperative may not be taken away from it; the cooperative decides how to use this fund, in accordance with generally binding statutory regulations. The unspent balance of the fund may be carried over into the next calendar year, without restrictions.

Section 16. Cooperative Operations

1) The cooperative operates on the basis of its economic plan that must follow the state plan's binding provisions and concluded economic contracts. The cooperative's economic plan is binding on the cooperative.

2) The cooperative uses its output primarily to fulfill specific tasks of the state plan, to meet obligations stemming from its business contracts, and to ensure its own capital replacement and expansion; furthermore, to satisfy the personal demand of its members, respectively employees.

3) From its revenue, the cooperative meets first of all its obligations toward the state (payments to the state budget, and taxes). The cooperative decides independently how to use the profit remaining after its payments to the state budget and taxes have been met, and this profit may not be taken away from the cooperative. The cooperative must give preference to allocations to capital

replacement and expansion and research and development. The cooperative is obliged to form a development fund, and a cultural and social services fund. It may form additional funds as needed.

4) The cooperative retains the entire amount of depreciation on its fixed assets and uses it at its discretion.

Section 17. Special Rules of Cooperative Management

1) For the cooperative that is unable to operate independently, the agency entrusted with economic administration may provide financial assistance and make its use contingent on the cooperative's accepting the special rules of management the agency imposes.

2) The rules of management mean that the cooperative is assigned a consolidation program for a specified period of time, and the cooperative's implementation of this program is monitored.

3) The consolidation program is a set of economic, technical, organizational, financial, personnel, remuneration and other measures aimed at restoring the cooperative's ability to manage its own affairs.

Section 18. Cooperative Dissolution

1) The membership meeting may resolve to dissolve the cooperative because (a) it has lost its land permanently, or (b) it has become insolvent. The cooperative is dissolved effective the day it is deleted from the records of the enterprise.

2) The cooperative is dissolved when it is merged, consolidated or split up.

3) The cooperative on which the dissolved cooperative's assets and liabilities have devolved is obliged to notify without delay, about the dissolution of the cooperative and the devolution of its assets and liabilities, the other legal entities affected by the cooperative's dissolution. In the case of liquidation, this obligation falls on the receiver.

Cooperative's Liquidation

Section 19

1) When the cooperative ceases for the reasons stated in Section 18, Paragraph 1, it undergoes liquidation.

2) The membership meeting appoints a receiver.

3) The cooperative files the application to enter in the enterprise records the fact that the cooperative is undergoing liquidation, and the receiver's name.

4) With the exception of the membership meeting, the functions of management of the cooperative cease the day that the information pursuant to Paragraph 3) is entered in the enterprise records.

Section 20

1) The receiver is authorized to act in the cooperative's name in all matters associated with its liquidation.

2) The receiver notifies without delay about the commencement of the cooperative's liquidation all the organizations, agencies and individuals affected by the liquidation.

3) The cooperative closes its accounts and prepares a financial statement as of the day liquidation begins and presents them to the receiver.

Section 21

1) Within a month of his appointment, the receiver prepares his initial balance sheet and presents it to the membership meeting, together with a liquidation plan and budget, and a special inventory of assets and liabilities as of the day liquidation began.

2) In the course of liquidation the receiver:

a) Consolidates the cooperative's financial resources in one account with a single financial institution;

b) Completes all unfinished business;

c) Converts into cash as advantageously as possible the cooperative's assets, or disposes of them in some other way pursuant to generally binding statutory regulations;

d) Suggests to the appropriate state agency the adoption of measures to preserve for production the land and other agricultural assets;

e) Satisfies from the proceeds of liquidation the payments to the state budget and the taxes and fees owed the state, the claims of the cooperative's members and employees, and then all other claims;

f) Presents to the membership meeting quarterly and annual progress reports on the cooperative's liquidation, together with quarterly and annual financial statements.

Section 22

1) The receiver prepares, and presents to the membership meeting for approval a financial statement dated the day liquidation ends, together with a final report on the course of liquidation.

2) Once the membership meeting approves the financial statement, the receiver

a) Transfers to the appropriate State Soil Improvement Fund any surplus that might remain after satisfying all claims against the cooperative and redeeming the members' shares;

b) Provides for the safekeeping of the records and accounts;

c) Files the petition to delete the cooperative from enterprise records.

Section 23. Consolidation, Merger

1) Cooperatives consolidating into a new cooperative cease to exist the day they are deleted from enterprise records. Cooperatives merged into an existing cooperative cease in the same manner.

2) The assets and liabilities of the consolidating or merged cooperatives devolve on the new or surviving cooperative. And the members of the consolidating or merged cooperatives become members of the new or the surviving cooperative.

Section 24. Break-Up

1) The membership meeting on the break-up of a cooperative determines how the cooperative, its assets and liabilities, are to be divided; it also recommends, with due consideration for the individual members' justifiable interests, into which cooperatives the members are to be transferred.

2) Effective on the day the new cooperatives are entered in the enterprise records, the broken-up cooperative ceases to exist, and its assets and liabilities devolve on the new cooperatives to the extent specified by the split-up cooperative's membership meeting. As of that date, the members of the split cooperative become members of the new cooperative.

Part III. Cooperative's Management and Organization

Section 25. The Membership Meeting

1) The membership meeting is the cooperative's governing body and through it the members exercise their right to manage the cooperative's affairs and to oversee its activity.

2) The membership meeting convenes as necessary, but at least every six months, or annually, if the cooperative has elected a council of deputies.

3) The membership meeting must be convened at the request of at least a third of the cooperative's members, respectively its control and audit commission, or of the appropriate body of the Union of Cooperative Farmers if the cooperative is affiliated with the Union.

4) The membership meeting has authority:

a) To elect and recall the cooperative's management and its members, with the exception of the council of deputies;

b) To adopt and modify the bylaws;

c) To discuss and approve the reports of management, and of the control and audit commission, regarding their own and the cooperative's activity;

d) To adopt and modify the cooperative's work rules, rules of organization, election rules, and rules of order;

e) To adopt special rules of management for the cooperative;

f) To approve the cooperative's five-year and annual economic plans, and the conceptual plan of the cooperative's further development;

g) To decide about setting up funds for the cooperative, and to determine the rules for using the funds;

h) To approve the annual financial statements;

i) To make basic decisions about the use of the cooperative's land;

j) To decide about dissolving the cooperative;

k) To decide other matters concerning the cooperative and its activity if statutes or the bylaws so provide, or if the membership meeting has reserved authority for itself.

5) The bylaws may provide for a reduced quorum membership meetings in lieu of a full membership meeting.

Section 26. The Cooperative's Elected Management

1) The cooperative's elected management consists of:

a) The council of deputies;

b) The directorate;

c) The chairman;

d) The control and audit commission;

e) The arbitration board;

f) The social services commission;

g) The labor safety and health commission.

2) The membership meeting determines how the cooperative's management is elected. Voting is usually by secret ballot.

3) The term of office of the cooperative's elected officers and bodies is five years.

Section 27. Composition and Resolutions of the Cooperative's Elected Management

1) The council of deputies must have at least five times as many members as the directorate. The directorate has between 7 and 29 members; the commissions have between 3 and 11 members.

2) The bylaws determine the size of the cooperative's elected management and their composition.

3) The membership meeting and the cooperative's elected bodies have a quorum when more than half of their members are present. Their resolutions are adopted by a two-thirds majority vote of the members present.

4) The membership meeting forms a quorum if a one-hour waiting period has elapsed and at least a third of all members are present. The provisions of Paragraph 3) apply to a quorum for a resolution to dissolve the cooperative.

Section 28. Council of Deputies

1) The bylaws determine whether the cooperative elects a council of deputies that exercises the authority of the membership meeting, except that they do not have the authority:

a) To elect and recall the cooperative's management;

b) To adopt and modify the cooperative's bylaws, work rules, election rules, and rules of order;

c) To approve the annual financial statements;

d) To decide on dissolving the cooperative;

e) To approve the cooperative's five-year plan, and the conceptual plan of the cooperative's further development;

f) To decide about setting up funds for the cooperative, and to determine the rules for using them;

g) To adopt special rules of management for the cooperative.

2) The council of deputies meets whenever necessary, but at least every quarter, with the exception of the quarter in which the membership meeting convenes.

Section 29. The Management

1) The management ensures and oversees implementation of the resolutions of the membership meeting (or council of deputies) and regularly reports to it on its own and the cooperative's activity.

2) The management decides all matters of the cooperative that are not reserved for the membership meeting or other elected bodies of the cooperative.

3) The management prepares the agenda of, and convenes, the membership meeting and the meeting of the council of deputies.

4) The management meets as necessary, but at least once a month. It must be convened at the instance of the control and audit commission if the shortcomings to which the latter called attention have not been remedied.

Section 30. The Chairman

1) The cooperative's chairman:

a) Presides at management meetings and ensures implementation of the committee's resolutions;

b) Organizes and directs the cooperative's day-to-day activity;

c) Is authorized to act in the cooperative's name in all matters;²

d) Submits reports on his activity to the membership meeting (council of delegates) and to the management.

2) The deputy chairman elected by the membership meeting (council of deputies) substitutes for the chairman in his absence.

Section 31. The Control and Audit Commission

1) The control and audit commission oversees the cooperative's entire economic, social and public activity, and considers the complaints of the cooperative's members and employees. It performs its work in direct cooperation with the control agencies of the state and of the Union of Cooperative Farmers.

2) The control and audit commission is obliged to conduct an annual audit of the cooperative's economic, social and public activity, and to prepare the cooperative's annual financial statement. It reports its findings to the membership meeting.

3) The control and audit commission calls the established shortcomings to the attention of the appropriate organizational units' managers, or to the cooperative's management, and demands remedial action.

4) The membership meeting (or council of deputies) elects the chief of the control and audit commission, and he may be relieved of other work in the cooperative to serve full-time. He is entitled to attend the meetings of the management.

5) Any member or employee of the cooperative has the right to turn to the control and audit commission in any matter that concerns the cooperative or its members and employees. The control and audit commission is obliged to investigate the matter, to demand remedial action if necessary, and to inform about its findings, at most within one month, the member or employee who initiated the investigation.

Section 32. The Arbitration Board

1) The arbitration board hears and decides:

a) Disputes between the cooperative and its members over claims based on labor and other relations ensuing from membership in the cooperative;

b) Members' applications to rescind imposed disciplinary measures;

c) Disputes over compensation for damage caused the cooperative by a member's crime, misdemeanor or petty offense, if proceedings have not yet been instituted or another body has not yet ruled on the question of compensation;

d) Disputes between the cooperative and its employees over claims stemming from employer-employee relations, including the disputes under Items b) and c), at the employee's request or with his consent.

2) The arbitration board does not hear disputes over the commencement and termination of membership or employment, and over claims based on the commencement and termination of employment or membership. Furthermore, the arbitration board does not hear disputes in which one of the parties is the cooperative's chairman, deputy chairman, a member of the management, control and audit commission, or arbitration board.

3) The arbitration board hears a dispute only if the claim was filed when membership or employment was still in effect, and if generally binding statutory regulation does not assign the dispute to the jurisdiction of some other agency.

Section 33. Incompatibility

Members of the control and audit commission or the arbitration board may not be simultaneously members of, or have a close relative³ on, the cooperative's other elected bodies, with the exception of the council of deputies, and may not serve as the cooperative's economist.

Section 34. Social Services Commission

Specifically the social services commission:

a) In proceedings over pension claims, files a motion with the national committee concerned to give a cooperative member credit for his years of contributory service and—pursuant to special regulations—for a calendar year in which he failed to accumulate the required minimum number of workday units;

b) Comments on the applications for cash benefits, social services or treatment at a health spa when such applications are decided by the social insurance agencies of the national committees or by the pension insurance agency of the republic concerned;

c) Helps to create conditions that enable partially disabled members to lead lives that are useful permanently and as fully as possible, and collaborates in assigning them to jobs;

d) Decides claims for sick pay and for maternity and child-care cash benefits; the social services commission may authorize its chairman and secretary to approve such benefits when the claims for them are legitimate, and the circumstances affecting eligibility or the amount of the benefits are certain beyond doubt and are not disputed.

Section 35. Commission on Labor Safety and Health

As the basic unit of public oversight of labor safety and health in the cooperative, the commission on labor safety and health specifically:

a) Organizes the training of members and employees to improve labor safety, health and hygiene and consistently observe those principles;

b) Checks whether systematic conditions exist for compliance with the labor safety and health regulations; whether the members and employees are sufficiently familiar with all the labor safety and health regulations; whether protective clothing and equipment are being used consistently at work; and compliance with the regulations on the work of women and youths, on work at night, and on overtime;

c) Checks whether the workplaces, equipment, machinery and established work procedures meet labor safety and health regulations;

d) Monitors compliance with the measures ordered by state agencies for the professional supervision of labor safety and health, agencies of the state health service, or voluntary public agencies for overseeing labor safety and health;

e) Participates in investigating and evaluating the causes of injuries at work, occupational diseases, and industrial accidents; calls attention to chronic shortcomings and demands their elimination; and presents proposals for improving labor safety, health and accident prevention;

f) Helps the cooperative's other bodies and the managers of its organizational units to fulfill their duties stemming from the labor safety and health regulations.

Section 36. Other Commissions

1) If necessary, the membership meeting (council of deputies) and the management may set up other commissions also, as standing or ad hoc bodies.

2) The members of these commissions are elected or appointed, and removed, by the cooperative body that set up the commissions.

Section 37. Cooperative's Organization

1) The bylaws specify the cooperative's breakdown into organizational units.

2) The cooperative's rules of organization spell out its organizational structure in greater detail.

Section 38. Work Collective and Organization Units

1) A work collective of an organization unit (hereinafter "the collective") is comprised of the members permanently assigned to work in that unit of the cooperative.

2) The collective discusses the economic, social and public matters affecting particularly the activities of the organization unit, and is entitled to present to the management proposals on such matters. The management must consider the proposals, and inform the collective of its decision, without unnecessary delay.

3) The collective elects and recalls as many of its members on the council of deputies as the bylaws specify. The members on the council of deputies regularly inform the collective about the council's activity and resolutions. The collective also nominates candidates for election to the cooperative's other bodies, and appoints the manager of its organizational unit (hereinafter "the manager").

4) The collective meets as necessary, but at least once every quarter. The cooperative's chairman or some other designated member of the management must attend the collective's meetings. The collective's manager convenes the collective and presides at its proceedings.

5) The collective forms a quorum when two-thirds of its members are present. Its resolutions are adopted by an absolute majority vote of the members present.

Section 39. Cooperative's Election Rules and Rules of Order

The cooperative's election rules and rules of order regulate: the method of electing the cooperative's elected bodies and commissions, their composition, competence and meetings, as well as the meetings of the collectives and partial membership meetings, and confirmation of their minutes.

Part IV. Membership and Labor Relations in the Cooperative

Section 40. Commencement of Membership

- 1) Any citizen past the age of compulsory school attendance may become a member of the cooperative.
- 2) The cooperative must see to it that the citizen undergoes a medical examination before the commencement of his membership.
- 3) The cooperative and the citizen whose application for membership the management decides to accept conclude an agreement on working conditions. The chairman signs this agreement on behalf of the cooperative. Membership commences the day stipulated in the agreement as the day the member is to start working.

Section 41. Agreement on Working Conditions

- 1) The agreement on working conditions must contain:
 - a) The type of work the member will be doing;
 - b) The place where he will be working (village, organizational unit, or an otherwise designated location);
 - c) The day the member starts to work;
 - d) The extent of the member's work participation during the calendar year whether or not he is to work in the cooperative year-round or full-time. Unless these requisites are determined by election or appointment.
- 2) Furthermore, the agreement on working conditions may contain:
 - a) Mutual obligations for the upgrading and broadening of qualifications;
 - b) The advantages the cooperative will be providing for the member;
 - c) Other conditions of interest to the cooperative or the member, on which they agree.
- 3) The cooperative and the member conclude and amend the agreement on working conditions in writing. One copy must be retained by the member.

4) The agreed day the member starts to work may not be earlier than the day his membership in another organization, his employment with another organization or his age of compulsory school attendance ends.

5) The agreement on working conditions may stipulate a trial period of up to three months. The agreed trial period may not be extended. During this trial period, both management and the member may cancel his membership at any time in writing, without stating the reason for termination.

6) Up to 10 workdays of the time when the member is prevented from working in the cooperative during the trial period may be included in that period.

7) The cooperative is obliged to offer the member other suitable work when—pursuant to a resolution of the membership meeting (or council of deputies) and with the exception of the cases listed in Section 48—it reduces the number of members working in a given organizational unit, so as to improve the efficiency of labor, or because of changes in that organizational unit's tasks or stock of machinery, or due to other organizational changes. If the member is unwilling to transfer to this work, the management is authorized to change unilaterally the type of work the member does, respectively the place where he is to work.

Section 42. Basic Rights and Obligations of Cooperative Members

- 1) The basic rights of cooperative members are:
 - a) To work in the cooperative, to receive remuneration for the results of his work, to rest after work, and to take a leave of absence for rest and recreation;
 - b) To participate in developing, managing and overseeing the activity of the cooperative; to elect the cooperative's management, and to hold elected office in the cooperative;
 - c) To present proposals for improving the cooperative's activity, to address comments and questions to the cooperative's management, and to be informed about the disposition of its proposals, comments or questions;
 - d) To receive assistance from the cooperative for upgrading and broadening his qualifications, in accordance with the cooperative's needs;
 - e) To share in the advantages that the cooperative provides for its members, in accordance with the bylaws and generally binding statutory regulations.

2) The basic obligations of the cooperative's member are:

a) To personally work in the cooperative conscientiously and honestly and to make full use of the working hours, unless the member has been released from working;

b) To observe the bylaws, to comply with the decisions and resolutions of the cooperative's management, to carry out the instructions of superiors, and to abide by the principle of comradely cooperation;

c) To comprehensively strengthen and develop joint cooperative farming, and to preserve and enhance the assets that the cooperative manages;

d) To be responsible for the cooperative's possible losses, as specified in the bylaws;

e) To pool his plots for joint farming by the cooperative (Section 79).

Cessation of Membership

Section 43

Membership in the cooperative ceases:

a) By mutual agreement;

b) By cancellation during the trial period;

c) By resignation;

d) By immediate resignation;

e) By termination;

f) By expulsion;

g) With the member's death;

h) With the cooperative's dissolution pursuant to Section 18, Paragraph 1.

Section 44. Mutual Agreement

1) If management and the member mutually agree to terminate his membership, it ceases the day agreed upon.

2) The agreement between the cooperative and the member to terminate his membership must be in writing. At the member's request, the agreement must state the reasons for terminating his membership.

3) If the member requests in writing the termination of his membership on a certain day, and if the cooperative does not reply to this request within 15 days after its delivery, membership is terminated by mutual agreement effective the day the member specified in his request.

4) The member retains one copy of the agreement to terminate his membership.

Section 45. Resignation

1) The member may resign from the cooperative in a letter of resignation, for whatever reason or without stating his reason. His membership ceases six months later. This period begins the first day of the calendar month following delivery of the member's letter of resignation to the cooperative.

2) The member may revoke his letter of resignation only in writing, and with management's consent.

Section 46. Immediate Resignation

1) The member may resign from the cooperative effective immediately:

a) If his state of health, according to a medical report, is such that he has lost for the long term his ability to continue his present work, or is not permitted to do his present work because he has contracted, or is in danger of contracting, an occupational disease, and the cooperative has not transferred him to other suitable work within 15 days from the day the medical report was presented to the cooperative;

b) If the cooperative has violated in a particularly gross manner an essential obligation that it has toward the member on the basis of the agreement on working conditions, the bylaws or generally binding statutory regulations; but only within one month from the day the member learned about the cause for immediate resignation, and at most within a year from the day this cause actually arose;

c) If the cooperative, pursuant to Section 41, Paragraph 7, has changed one-sidedly the type of work the member does or the place where he is to work; but only within one month from the day that the cooperative's decision was delivered to the member.

2) The member who resigns from the cooperative effective immediately may claim severance pay equivalent to two months' average earnings. This does not apply in the case of immediate resignation pursuant to Paragraph 1, Item c).

3) The member must inform the cooperative of his immediate resignation by letter, which must state the reason for immediate resignation and must be delivered to the cooperative within the specified time limit. The originally stated reason for immediate resignation cannot be changed subsequently. Membership ceases the day the letter of resignation is delivered to the cooperative.

Section 47. Termination

1) The management may resolve to cancel his membership if the member:

a) Fails to meet the prerequisites that generally binding statutory regulations set for the performance of the agreed work, or fails to meet—without the cooperative's fault—requirements that are an essential condition for performing his work properly; if failure to meet such requirements consists of the member's unsatisfactory work results, his membership may be terminated only if the cooperative warned him in writing within the preceding 12 months to correct his shortcomings, and he has not done so within a reasonable period of time;

b) Although able to work, does not begin to work on the day stipulated in the agreement on working conditions; his membership ceases the day the management's resolution is delivered to the member in writing.

2) The resolution terminating the member's membership must state the reason for termination unambiguously, and the reason stated originally may not be changed subsequently.

3) After it is delivered to the member, the resolution terminating his membership may be revoked only with his written consent.

4) When deciding to terminate the member's membership pursuant to Paragraph 1, Item a), the management starts out from the standpoint of the collective.

5) The resolution terminating his membership pursuant to Paragraph 1, Item a), is delivered to the member in writing, and his membership ceases six months later. This period begins the first day of the calendar month following the terminating resolution's delivery to the member.

6) The cooperative may terminate a member's membership for the reasons specified in Paragraph 1, Item a) only if:

a) The member is unwilling to accept other suitable work that the cooperative has offered him, or if he refuses to undergo preliminary training for such work;

b) The cooperative is unable to offer the member work that matches his abilities and which he could do even with his shortcomings.

Section 48. Ban on Terminating Membership

Membership may not be terminated by the cooperative for the reasons specified in Section 47, Paragraph 1, Item a):

a) In the case of a pregnant woman, or if the member is a woman or a single male caring permanently for a child under 3 years of age;

b) At a time when the member is acknowledged temporarily unable to work due to illness or injury, unless he induced the illness intentionally or caused it when under the influence of alcohol or other drugs; furthermore, from the time the member is sent to a medical institution for treatment or is approved for treatment at a spa, until the completion of his treatment; if the illness is tuberculosis, the ban continues for six months following the member's discharge from institutional care;

c) When the member is drafted or called up for service in the armed forces, from the day he receives his draft notice or call-up order, respectively from the day an announcement containing a mobilization order is issued, until 15 days after his discharge or demobilization.

d) When the member is on extended leave from the cooperative to serve in public office.

Section 49. Expulsion

1) The management may decide to expel the member:

a) If he has been sentenced for a willful criminal offense to a prison term longer than one year, and the nonsuspended sentence is final; or if he has been sentenced to a prison term of at least six months for a willful criminal offense committed in the course of performing his duties as a member, or directly in conjunction with such duties, and the nonsuspended sentence is final;

b) For a particularly gross violation of cooperative discipline, or for a repeated serious violation of cooperative discipline committed at a time when the final disciplinary measure imposed for the previous violation of cooperative discipline has not yet been expunged from the member's record.

2) The management may decide to expel the member only within two months from the day it established the reason for expulsion, and at most within one year from the day this reason arose.

3) If the member's action that may be regarded as reason for his expulsion pursuant to Paragraph 1, Item b), is being investigated by another agency, the two-month time limit pursuant to Paragraph 2) begins the day the cooperative learns of the outcome of the investigation.

4) The resolution to expel the member from the cooperative must state the reason for his expulsion pursuant to Paragraph 1, and the stated reason may not be changed subsequently. Membership ceases the day the cooperative's resolution to expel the member is delivered to him.

Section 50. Judicial Review

If the member does not agree with the management's resolution to terminate his membership or to expel him, or if the cooperative does not agree with the member's

immediate resignation, then—within one month from the delivery of the resolution in writing, respectively of the letter of resignation—they may petition the court to determine that respectively the termination, expulsion and immediate resignation are invalid.

Section 51. Settlement of Accounts

When membership ceases, the cooperative must prepare a statement of the mutual rights and obligations, and must settle the balance, within one month from the approval of the financial statement for the year in which membership ceased, but not later than 31 March of the next calendar year.

Section 52. Labor Relations

1) In principle, the members do the work in the cooperative.

2) Exceptionally the cooperative may employ individuals or establish other labor-law relations with them. The management makes the decisions on hiring or establishing other labor-law relations. If employment is for a period not exceeding one month, the cooperative's chairman may make the decisions.

3) Unless the present law provides otherwise, the Labor Code governs labor relations between the cooperative and its members, but with the following qualifications:

a) Where the Labor Code mentions:

(1) labor-law relations, it means the members' labor relations;

(2) employer-employee relations and employment, it means membership in the cooperative;

(3) notice and immediate dismissal, it means termination of membership or expulsion

(4) termination by the worker, it means resignation or immediate resignation;

(5) length of notice, it means the periods specified in Section 45, Paragraph 1, and Section 47, Paragraph 5;

(6) the organization and the worker, it means the cooperative and its member;

(7) labor contract, it means the agreement on working conditions;

(8) the organization's chief executive, it means the cooperative's chairman or management;

(9) wages and compensation for wages, it means remuneration for work in the cooperative and compensation for such remuneration;

(10) labor discipline, it means cooperative discipline;

(11) arbitration, it means proceedings before the cooperative's arbitration board.

b) The provisions regarding the trade-union committees' participation in management and cooperation do not apply.

c) In the cooperative, a resolution of the membership meeting assumes the function of the collective contract.

d) The CSR and SSR Ministries of Agriculture and Food exercise the authority that the Labor Code grants central agencies over the organizations under their supervision.

4) The following provisions of the Labor Code do not apply to labor relations between the cooperative and its members:

a) The principles of Chapter IV, so far as they concern remuneration for work performed;

b) The provisions governing:

(1) the Labor Code's applicability to special groups of employees (Sections 4-7);

(2) the employees' participation in developing the organization's management and oversight (Sections 18-21, Section 22, Paragraphs 1-4, and Section 23);

(3) guaranties of the right to work, and work on society's behalf (Section 25, Paragraphs 1-2);

(4) commencement of employment (Sections 27-35);

(5) trade-union participation in the reallocation and transfer of employees (Section 41);

(6) cessation of employment (Sections 42-59);

(7) raising the objection that the termination of employment is invalid (Section 64);

(8) secondary employment and secondary activity (Section 70, Paragraphs 1-4, and Section 71);

(9) the basic obligations of employees and managers (Sections 73-74);

(10) the disciplinary authority of senior executives and bodies (Section 76, and Section 78, Paragraphs 1-2);

(11) the time limit for imposing disciplinary measures (Section 79);

(12) wages in the general principles, and especially in conjunction with wage systems (Sections 111-113, and 123);

(13) public oversight by the trade unions (Section 136);

(14) authority to hear labor disputes (Sections 207-208);

(15) the invalidity of legal actions due to the absence of required consent or to failure to observe the prescribed formalities (Section 242, Paragraph 2);

(16) the transfer of rights and obligations ensuing from labor-law relations (Sections 249-251); and

(17) special regulations pertaining to certain employees (Section 267, Paragraph 1, and Sections 267a-269).

Section 53. Work in the Cooperative

1) From the day of the commencement of his membership, the cooperative is obliged to assign the member work in accordance with the agreement on working conditions, and the member must perform that work personally.

2) If the cooperative is unable to provide suitable work for its member year-round or full-time, it must enable him to work part-time for another organization.

3) Upon his or her request, the cooperative is obliged to release the member from work so as to study full-time, to serve in public office, or when the member becomes eligible for old-age or disability pension, also, a female member or single male member to take care of a child.

Section 54. Second Job Contract

1) The cooperative and the member may agree to a second job contract of a different kind than what the agreement on working conditions stipulates, performed outside the member's regular working hours. This is work that cannot be performed, or not expediently, on the basis of the present law's preceding provisions. The agreement for a second job is a part of the agreement on working conditions.

2) With the cooperative's consent, the member may perform his work with the help of his family members specified in the agreement.

3) The cooperative's member is liable for the damage these persons cause the cooperative; for damage to these persons, the cooperative is liable according to the Civil Code.⁴

Section 55. Remuneration

1) The member is entitled to remuneration for his work in the cooperative. The amount of remuneration depends on the cooperative's economic results, and on the member's contribution to them.

2) The cooperative regulates remuneration in its internal rules so that it is in concurrence with the national economy's objectives and generally binding statutory regulations on remuneration, matches the conditions and goals of the cooperative's development, and respects consistently the principle of remuneration based on merit.

Section 56. Appointment and Removal of Managers

1) A manager is appointed and removed by management. Effective the day the management resolution appointing him to a managerial position is delivered to the member in writing, respectively the day specified in the resolution, the member's agreed type of work and possibly his place of work change.

2) When the member is removed from a managerial position, his membership in the cooperative does not cease; the management and the member agree on reassigning the member to other work that is in accord with his abilities and qualifications, and with the cooperative's possibilities.

Section 57. Managers' Duties

The managers' duties are particularly:

a) To direct and supervise the work, and to regularly evaluate the members' attitude to work and to the collective, as well as the members' work results;

b) To organize the work as efficiently as possible in the interest of raising labor productivity; and to see to it that production, in terms of its economic and technical possibilities, meets the requirements of technical and economic development;

c) To create favorable working conditions, and maintain labor safety and health;

d) To create conditions for expanding the members' participation in developing, managing and overseeing the cooperative's activity, especially for developing socialist labor competitions, the inventor and innovator movement, and other forms of creative initiative, and to utilize the members' experience, comments and proposals;

e) To create favorable conditions for raising the members' ideological and professional level, and for satisfying their cultural and social needs;

f) To enforce the cooperative's internal rules, to maintain labor discipline, to evaluate the members' initiative and effort, and to take appropriate action when members violate their obligations;

g) To organize the development of the members' work-related initiative, and to convene and preside over the meetings of the collectives.

Section 58. Cooperative Discipline

1) The cooperative's members are obliged to observe cooperative discipline.

2) Cooperative discipline means the member's compliance with the provisions of the present law, the bylaws, the decisions and resolutions of the cooperative's management, and with generally binding statutory regulations, in the course of fulfilling his obligations as a member of the cooperative.

Section 59. Imposition of Disciplinary Measures

1) The cooperative's chairman imposes disciplinary measures.

2) The membership meeting (or the council of deputies) imposes disciplinary measures on the chairman, deputy chairman, and on members of the management, control and audit commission, and arbitration board.

3) The bylaws specify what disciplinary measures the managers may impose. These disciplinary measures affecting remuneration for work in the cooperative may not exceed 500 koruny.

4) Disciplinary measure may be imposed only within two months from the day the cooperative learned about the violation of cooperative discipline, but not later than one year from the day the violation of cooperative discipline actually occurred. However, the time limit is six months, rather than two months, when the membership meeting imposes disciplinary measures. But if a violation of labor discipline becomes, during the time limit for the imposition of disciplinary measure, the subject of investigation by some other agency, disciplinary measures may still be imposed within two months from the day the cooperative learned about the outcome of this investigation.

Part V. Cooperative's Right of Usufruct

Section 60. Pooled Plots

1) The cooperative has the right of usufruct of the plots pooled for collective farming, respectively of the plots reallocated in the course of consolidating the pooled plots (hereinafter "pooled plots").

2) The cooperative's usufruct is gratuitous and unlimited in its duration; it entitles the cooperative to use and enjoy the pooled plots with the care of a good husbandman, for the performance of all its tasks.

3) Specifically, the cooperative is entitled.

a) To improve the pooled plots when their improvement is necessary to ensure or increase farm production;

b) To develop the pooled plots and extract their depletable assets;

c) To erect on the pooled plots structures, including housing, necessary for the cooperative's activity.

4) All standing crops on the pooled plots belong to the cooperative.

5) The cooperative is entitled to seek protection from unlawful interference with its use and enjoyment, and this right is not subject to any statute of limitations.

Section 61. Assignment of Pooled Plots

1) When warranted and the membership meeting (or council of deputies) so decides, the cooperative may assign by contract its usufruct of:

a) pooled plots, to another agricultural organization or a joint venture;

b) pooled forests, to a state forestry organization;

c) pooled fishponds with fish breeding to a state fisheries organization or an anglers' association;

d) pooled plots on which small hydroelectric power plants have been or will be built, to a socialist organization or citizen.

2) The provisions of Section 60, Paragraphs 2-5, apply in like manner to a socialist organization's usufruct of pooled plots.

Section 62. Return of Pooled Plots

1) Unless the contract for assigning the usufruct of pooled plots provides otherwise, it may be cancelled on one year's notice that ends on 31 December of the current year.

2) The plot on which a permanent structure was erected remains in the usufruct of the organization that built it, unless the cooperative and the organization reach a different agreement.

Section 63. Temporary Use of Pooled Plots

1) If the membership meeting (or council of deputies) so decides, the cooperative may assign, by written contract, temporary use of the pooled plots that are unsuitable for socialist large-scale farming, in the following order:

a) To the cooperative's members or employees, for agricultural use;

b) To a state or cooperative organization, for agricultural use and exceptionally for nonagricultural use;

c) To a voluntary public organization, for agricultural use;

d) To other citizens, for agricultural use.

2) Temporary use of pooled forests, bodies of water and fishponds with fish breeding may not be assigned to members or employees of the cooperative or to other citizens.

3) The temporary user of plots assigned to him for agricultural use may improve them, or erect on them temporary structures that are necessary for agricultural use, but only with the cooperative's advance consent. The cooperative's consent is a requirement without which the building authority may not approve the site and issue a building permit or a statement to the effect that it has no objections against erection of the structure.⁵ The standing crops that emerged on the plot during its temporary use belong to the user.

4) The contract assigning temporary use of a plot may also specify a reasonable rent, and the manner of settling accounts when the plot's temporary use ends.

5) Temporary use ends when its stipulated term expires. When no term has been agreed upon, temporary use ends when the purpose for which temporary use of the plot was assigned has been or could have been achieved. Unless generally binding statutory regulations or the agreement between the parties specifies otherwise, temporary use may be terminated on six months' notice that ends on 31 December of the current year.

6) The cooperative may cancel the contract if the user uses the plot in a way contrary to what was agreed.

7) Unless the contract assigning temporary use of a plot or a subsequent agreement specifies otherwise, the user is obliged to restore the plot to its original state by the day its use ends. At the same time, care must be taken to avoid unnecessary economic losses.

Section 64. Cessation of Cooperative's Usufruct

1) The cooperative's usufruct ceases with the transfer or passing of a pooled plot into socialist public ownership.

2) The contract transferring ownership of a pooled plot requires the cooperative's consent. This does not apply when the plot is being donated to the state or to the cooperative that holds the plot subject to usufruct.

3) With the advance consent of the okres national committee, the cooperative may relinquish in favor of the current owner its usufruct of a plot that special regulations⁶ have earmarked for construction, provided the plot's designated use and size would allow holding it subject to personal usufruct.⁷ The cooperative may relinquish its usufruct of only one plot in the owner's favor in this manner. This applies also in the case of co-owners.

4) The cooperative is obliged to inform the geodetic and cartographic agency about the cessation of its usufruct of the plot pursuant to Paragraph 3.

Section 65. Transfer of Buildings

1) The cooperative may transfer free of charge the farm building or other structure (hereinafter "farm building") if no longer needs, to the member who surrendered it to the cooperative, respectively to the owner of the plot on which the farm building stands. Transfer of the farm building's ownership to the acquirer terminates the cooperative's usufruct of the plot on which the farm building stands.

2) If the farm building was improved at the cooperative's expense, the acquirer must pay the cooperative compensation equivalent to the farm building's reasonable and permanent appreciation based on its state at the time of transfer. If the cooperative paid compensation for the farm building, the acquirer must reimburse the cooperative.

Section 66. Household Plots

1) The cooperative may allot household plots to its members, primarily the ones engaged in basic farm production. The maximum size of the household plot is 0.25 hectare of farmland per member (including the area of special crops). In mountainous and piedmont regions, the maximum size of the household plot is 0.50 hectare per member, of which 0.25 hectare may be arable land (including the area of special crops). The area of the nonpooled garden must be included in the size of the household plot.

2) The allocation of household plots may not reduce the area that the cooperative has under cultivation. Wood lots, bodies of water and fish ponds with fish breeding may not constitute a part of the household plots.

3) The details of allocating household plots, their size and furthermore the conditions under which the cooperative sells farm products to its members and employees, and perhaps the species and heads of livestock a member or employee may keep, are regulated in the

bylaws in a way such that farming the household plot and raising livestock will not interfere with the performance of the members' or employees' duties.

Part VI. Basic Forms of Cooperative Cooperation

Section 67. Contract of Cooperative Cooperation

1) Cooperation between cooperatives mutually, and between cooperatives and other socialist organizations (Section 3), is organized on the basis of contracts of cooperative cooperation (hereinafter "contract").

2) The organizations that concluded a contract are liable for the losses of the joint activity resulting from the contract, in the ratio of their shares or stakes. And they share in the profits in the ratio of their shares or stakes, and of the activity they contributed toward achieving the profits.

3) The contract becomes valid when there is agreement on all its essential elements.

4) The consent of all participating organizations is necessary to amend the contract. Such consent is required also when one of the participating organizations wants to withdraw from the contract.

5) The cooperative must obtain the advance consent of its membership meeting (council of deputies) to conclude a contract.

Joint Venture

Section 68. Contract for Forming a Joint Venture

1) The contract for forming a joint venture must contain:

a) The names and locations of the participating organizations;

b) The name and location of the joint venture;

c) The object of the joint venture's activity and its internal organization;

d) The rights and obligations of the participating organizations;

e) The form and amount of the participating organizations' shares (or stakes);

f) Provisions for covering the costs associated with the object of activity, the method of sharing the profit or other economic benefit, and provisions for bearing the joint venture's possible losses;

g) The method of settlement of obligations when the joint venture ceases or one of the participating organizations withdraws from the contract.

2) Section 11, Paragraphs 2-3, Sections 14-16, and Section 55, Paragraph 2, apply in like manner to the joint venture's formation and operation.

Section 69

The joint venture is a legal entity. It can enter into contracts in its own name and is liable for the obligations ensuing from such contracts.

Section 70. Joint Venture Management

The joint venture's management bodies are: (a) the management; (b) the chairman; and (c) the control and audit commission.

Section 71. Management

1) The management of the joint venture consists of the participating organizations' delegates, the chairman, and deputies of the joint venture's body of employees.

2) Several of the participating organizations may agree in the contract to have a common delegate represent them on the management. In this case the delegate has as many votes as the number of organizations he is representing.

Section 72. Management's Scope of Authority

1) Specifically the joint venture's management:

a) Elects from among the participating organizations, and recalls, by secret ballot the joint venture's chairman and two-thirds of its control and audit commission's members;

b) Approves the five-year and the annual economic plans of the joint venture, and the conceptual plan of its development;

c) Approves the annual financial statement and the settlement of accounts between the joint venture and the participating organizations;

d) Approves the rules of order for the management and the control and audit commission, and the work rules of the joint venture;

e) Gives the chairman its consent to conclude a collective contract.

2) The management has a quorum when at least two-thirds of its members are present. Unless the contract specifies otherwise, the management adopts its resolutions by a majority vote of the members present, but resolutions on the matters listed in Paragraph 1 require the votes of three-fifths of the members present.

Section 73. Joint Venture's Work Collective

- 1) The joint venture's collective comprises the workers employed there, but not including the workers who hold second jobs with the joint venture.
- 2) Deputies of the joint venture's work collective make up a third of management, and of the control and audit commission. They are elected by secret ballot from among the joint venture's work collective, to a five-year term of office, unless the contract specifies otherwise.
- 3) Section 38, Paragraph 5, applies in like manner to voting within the collective.

Section 74. The Chairman

- 1) The joint venture is headed by the chairman who directs the joint venture's activity and is accountable to the management for this activity and its results.
- 2) As the statutory officer of the joint venture, the chairman acts in the joint venture's name in all its affairs.
- 3) The chairman presides over the meetings of the management and ensures implementation of its resolutions. He is obliged to regularly inform the joint venture's collective body about his activity.
- 4) In the chairman's absence, a deputy chairman elected by the management from among the joint venture's employees acts for the chairman.

Section 75. Control and Audit Commission

- 1) The control and audit commission of the joint venture oversees the latter's entire economic and social activity. It considers and settles the complaints of the joint venture's employees.
- 2) The control and audit commission is accountable to the management and reports to it on its own activity.
- 3) The control and audit commission is obliged to conduct an annual audit of the joint venture's economic and social activity, and to prepare the joint venture's annual financial statement.
- 4) The control and audit commission's chairman directs and organizes the commission's work. The control and audit commission elects its chairman from among its own members, to a five-year term. He is entitled to attend the meetings of the management.

Section 76

The work in the joint venture is performed by its full-time employees, or by independent contractors who are not employees.

Section 77. Cooperative Association

- 1) The articles of association on the basis of which the participating organizations pool their resources, respectively their activities, into a cooperative association must contain:

- a) The names and locations of the participating organizations;
- b) The purpose of the association, the object of its activity, and the manner in which the activity will be pursued;
- c) The rights and obligations of the participating organizations, the amount of their share (or stake) with which they are contributing toward covering the costs of pursuing the agreed activity and, if necessary, provisions for managing and administering the pooled resources;

- d) The consequences of violating contractual obligations, and the manner of meeting obligations after the articles of association cease.

- 2) The pooling of resources and activities must not create undesirable monopolies; in as much as the articles of association create such a monopoly, they are void.

- 3) The cooperative association's articles of association cease:

- a) When the objective for which the articles of association were concluded has been achieved or becomes impossible to achieve;

- b) When the period of time for which the articles of association were concluded expires;

- c) When the participating organizations agree to cancel the articles of association;

- d) For other reasons, specified in the articles of association.

Part VII.

Section 78. The Union of Cooperative Farmers

- 1) The Union of Cooperative Farmers (hereinafter "the Union") is a voluntary public organization affiliated with the National Front. It develops its activity in the interest of ensuring the socioeconomic and public mission of the cooperatives, the political, labor and voluntary public activity of its members, and also in the area of care for their working and living conditions.

- 2) The cooperative whose membership meeting decides to join the Union becomes its local organization. The authorities of the cooperative are simultaneously the authorities of this local organization.

3) The central agencies concerned discuss with the Union the drafts of generally binding statutory regulations that affect basic questions of the cooperatives' economic policy, or their members' important rights and obligations, labor relations, social and cultural welfare and health care.

Part VIII. Common, Temporary, and Final Provisions

Section 79. Pooling of Plots

1) The members pool for collective farming by the cooperative all the plots (including wood lots, bodies of water and fishponds with fish breeding) that they own or farm at the time of joining the cooperative, and also the plots they acquire later while members.

2) The obligation to pool plots arises the day membership commences. But if the agreement on working conditions stipulates a trial period, the obligation to pool plots arises only after the expiration of the trial period, provided membership was not cancelled during the trial period.

3) The following are not pooled for collective farming by the cooperative:

a) The plots that the cooperative or some other socialist agricultural organization already holds subject to usufruct at the time when the member joins the cooperative;

b) The plots with residential buildings, farm buildings and yards, if the cooperative has not taken these buildings over. Also gardens smaller than 0.10 hectare in the built-up section of the villages. The bylaws may specify under what conditions gardens of larger size do not have to be pooled.

Section 80

1) If the present law prescribes the form of a legal act pertaining to membership or labor relations, the legal act is void if the form is not observed.

2) A foreigner or stateless person may become a member of the cooperative if he has been granted a permit to reside permanently on the territory of the CSSR.

3) If it has not ceased in some other way, the cooperative membership of a foreigner or stateless person ceases:

a) The day by which he must leave the territory of the CSSR, pursuant to a final decision revoking his residence permit;

b) The day the sentence of a criminal court ordering his deportation from the CSSR becomes final.

Section 81. Temporary Provisions

1) Unless specified otherwise below, the provisions of the present law apply also to legal relationships established before 1 July 1988. However, the existence of such legal relationships, and the claims arising from them, will be judged on the basis of the regulations that have been in force up to now.

2) Arbitration proceedings instituted before the present law becomes effective will be completed according to the statutory regulations that have been in force up to now.

3) The own bylaws of the cooperatives, their work rules, rules of organization and rules of order will expire when the cooperatives adopt new bylaws and rules, but on 31 March 1989 at the latest.

4) Not later than 31 March 1989, the cooperatives and other socialist organizations that formed agricultural joint ventures or signed articles of association to establish cooperative associations on the basis of the earlier regulations, will modify their contracts and articles of association, and will ensure that the joint ventures' officers and bodies conform to the provisions of the present law.

5) Until an arbitration board is set up, the management will exercise the arbitration boards' scope of authority.

Section 82

1) The CSSR Government will regulate by ordinance the financial management of cooperatives and joint ventures.

2) The Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food—after consulting with the Union, the CSR and SSR Ministries of Agriculture and Food, and the trade-union body concerned—will regulate by generally binding statutory regulations:

a) The principles of remuneration and rules to equalize the resources for work payments and wages in cooperatives and joint ventures;

b) The principles for selling certain farm products to members and employees of cooperatives, respectively.

Section 83. Rescinding Provisions

1) The following are hereby rescinded:

(1) Law No 122/1975 Sb on Agricultural Cooperatives, as modified and amended by Law No 111/1984 Sb;

(2) Federal Government Ordinance No 137/1975 Sb issuing Model Bylaws for Unified Agricultural Cooperatives and regulating the procedure for drafting, approving, modifying and amending the cooperatives' bylaws;

(3) Parts II and III of Federal Government Ordinance No 138/1975 Sb implementing certain provisions of Law No 122/1975 Sb on Agricultural Cooperatives;

(4) Decree of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture No 159/1975 Sb on Cooperation in Agriculture and Its Forms, as modified and amended by Decrees Nos 100/1983 Sb and 25/1986 Sb;

(5) Decree of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food No 160/1975 Sb on Arbitration Proceedings in Unified Agricultural Cooperatives;

(6) Directive of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food, file No FM 01-668/13/75, on the Procedure for Converting a Unified Agricultural Cooperative Into a State Agricultural Organization, listed in 24/1976 Sb;

(7) Edict of the Federal Minister of Agriculture and Food, file No FM 015-681/1976, issuing Model Rules of Organization, Rules of Order and Work Rules for Unified Agricultural Cooperatives, listed in 18/1977 Sb.

2) The following regulations will be rescinded as of 1 January 1989:

(1) Federal Government Ordinance No 140/1985 Sb on the Principles of Financing Unified Agricultural Cooperatives and Their Financial Management;

(2) Decree of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food No 137/1979 Sb implementing certain provisions of the Law on Agricultural Cooperatives regarding vacations and the financial responsibility of members of unified agricultural cooperatives;

(3) Decree of the Federal Minister of Agriculture and Food No 120/1985 Sb on Financing the Replacement of Fixed Assets in Unified Agricultural Cooperatives and Agricultural Joint Ventures;

(4) Decree of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food No 121/1985 Sb on Financing Noninvestment R & D Expenditures in Unified Agricultural Cooperatives and Agricultural Joint Ventures;

(5) Decree of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food No 24/1986 Sb on the Unified Agricultural Cooperative's Cultural and Social Services Fund;

(6) Decree of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food No 26/1986 Sb on the Contingency Fund of Unified Agricultural Cooperatives and Agricultural Joint Ventures;

(7) Directive of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food, file No FM 041-2003/85, on Financing the Current Assets of Unified Agricultural Cooperatives and Agricultural Joint Ventures, listed in 1/1986 Sb;

(8) Edict of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food, file No FM 01-183/13/73, on Equalizing the Development of Work Payments and Supplying Farm Products in Unified Agricultural Cooperatives, listed in 8/1974 Sb;

(9) Edict of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food, file No FM 01-1422/81, on Giving the Members of Unified Agricultural Cooperatives Loyalty and Significant Birthday Bonuses, listed in 20/1982 Sb;

(10) Edict of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food, file No FM 01-625/1983, on Cafeteria Meals in Unified Agricultural Cooperatives, listed in 29/1983 Sb;

(11) Edict of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food, file No FM 01-1721/85, on the Remuneration of the Unified Agricultural Cooperatives' Members and Employees in Blue-Collar Jobs, listed in 5/1988 Sb;

(12) Edict of the Federal Minister of Agriculture and Food, file No FM 01-1722/85, on the Remuneration of the Unified Agricultural Cooperatives' Members and Employees in Economic Management Positions, listed in 5/1988 Sb;

(13) Edict of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food, file No FM 01-1687/85, on the Equalization of Resources for Work Payments in Unified Agricultural Cooperatives, listed in 5/1986 Sb;

(14) Edict of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food, file No 01-1968/85, on the Equalization of Wage Resources in Agricultural Joint Ventures and Soil Improvement Cooperatives, listed in 5/1986 Sb;

(15) Edict of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food, file No FM 01-2115/85, on Paying Annual Bonuses to Senior Officers and Certain Professional Managers of Unified Agricultural Cooperatives, listed in 5/1986 Sb.

Section 84. Effectiveness

The present law becomes effective 1 July 1988.

Footnotes

1. The Economic Code, and Law No 121/1962 Sb on Economic Arbitration, as modified and amended by subsequent regulations (Section 2a).

2. Section 21 of the Economic Code.

3. Section 116 of the Civil Code.

4. Sections 421, 438 and 449 of the Civil Code.

5. Section 39, Section 57, Paragraph 2, and Section 66 of Law No 50/1976 Sb on Territorial Planning and the Building Code (Building Law).

6. Law No 50/1976 Sb.

7. Sections 199, 200, and Section 490, Paragraph 2, of the Civil Code.

1014

Member of Charter 77 Attacked

24000115 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
18 Jun 88 p 3

[Article by Jaroslav Kojzar: "In the Guise of Pseudorevolutionary Phrases"]

[Text] He lives amongst us, taking advantage of our social security system. He shops at the same stores where we do. He might even be on the same streetcar, bus, or subway train. He is different in that he always has enough Tuzex coupons and—we are talking by the way about citizen Petr Uhl—in that he is frequently the subject of certain western radio broadcasts and articles in bourgeois newspapers. He is one of the so-called dissidents, who go by the name of Chartists, and he has the ear of certain people from the West who visit us as, believe it or not, spokesmen for our general public.

If it were not for this contrived and undeserved publicity, Uhl's name would have fallen into oblivion, and he would be able to mediate on his own time on how to revolutionize the world. This was his objective in 1968 when, as an unknown 27-year old high school teacher, he received a delegation in Prague from the so-called Fourth International, based in Paris. He still dreams of "world revolution" in the spirit of their unique program, which asserts that capitalism provides a better base for the outbreak of revolution, and a better starting point for subsequent developments. The first step must therefore be the overthrow of our political system and the political systems of the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe, i.e. the socialist countries, including Yugoslavia.

One encounters the name Lev Trotsky (Bronstein) here and there in the history of the Soviet Union in the 1920's. He was known for his view that it is impossible to build socialism in a single country, and for his so-called theory of permanent (uninterrupted) revolution. After his expulsion from the Soviet Union he continued to develop this "theory." In his book, "Permanent Revolution," published in 1930, he asserted that "the culmination of a socialist revolution in a national context is unthinkable." He therefore advocated the liquidation of socialist power in those countries where it had been victorious. With a small band of followers he formed the so-called International Communist League, which in 1938 allied itself with several other groups to form the so-called Fourth International, a "worldwide party for socialist revolution."

"In the upcoming decades," Trotsky announced in response to doubts expressed concerning the worldwide status of his organization, "the program of the Fourth

International will be embraced by millions, and these revolutionary millions will humble the earth and the heavens." Lev Trotsky's followers approved a plan known as the Agony of Capitalism and Tasks of the Fourth International. One of the explicitly stated top priorities of this plan was a struggle against anti-fascist forces, based on the transparently provocative notion that fascism must continue to exist, because its later fall would make a worldwide revolution possible. These foolhardy ideas served as the basis of another senseless step: the Trotskyites branded as their enemies all governments that formed alliances or other ties with the Soviet Union, the most militant combatant against fascism. They also came out against the French communists, "pseudointernationalists," as Trotsky called them, in a call to the Parisian people to turn their city into an impregnable fortress for the Hitlerites when Nazi soldiers were approaching. They even proposed the formation of "domestic fronts" that would be directed against specific leftist-oriented groups of the French liberation movement. Clearly this is why the Trotskyites could legally convene their conference at a time when France was occupied!

After the war, Trotsky's heirs continued these policies. They welcomed the military preparations of the followers of the so-called cultural revolution in China, and their emphasis on dealing with enemies with nuclear weapons. The English branch of the Trotskyites even wrote in the early 1960's that "Communist society can also be formed over a short period of time on ruins... A preventive war will make it possible for us to be the first to deliver a destructive blow, one that will not permit the counterattack being prepared by imperialism." When he was alive, Trotsky had also bet on war as an "aid" to revolution.

The provoking nature of this policy is clear. In the late 1960's and early 1970's, followers of the Fourth International again became active. Their emissaries fanned out in all directions to form new alliances, the largest possible number of cells, sections, and to make contacts. They dusted off old slogans such as the "call" of the secretariat of the "Fourth International" to all the people in the world, which stated, "The broad masses of the world must continue the struggle and prepare to take power, prepare for a nuclear war, and answer it with a proletarian revolution." The peace policies of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries were therefore branded as "class collaboration" and a "betrayal of the international interests of the proletariat."

The Fourth International even had some followers in Czechoslovakia. They included Sonnenschein, who even cooperated openly with the Nazis, and the writer Zavis Kalandra. After February 1948, certain Trotskyites formed anti-government organizations dedicated to subversive activities and the compilation of political, economic, and military information about Czechoslovakia.

Trotskyites became somewhat active after the 20th CPSU Congress, as well as in the pre-crisis and post-crisis period of 1968. At this time their leading members were the historian Bartosek, teachers Pithart and Samalik of the Prague Law Faculty. However, the above-mentioned high school teacher, Petr Uhl, forced his way to a leadership role for Trotskyites in our country.

Uhl has published his fantasies in a book, "A Program of Social Self-Government," which appeared in the West German city of Cologne in 1982. They also appeared in IMPRECOR, a bi-weekly publication of the Fourth International, in Nos 6 and 7 of last year, and in Uhl's own writings.

In all these writings, Uhl rants and raves against the socialist system and outlines ways to fight against it. He also writes, however, about how he visualizes society "after victory." He misuses the slogan "self-governing society" in a demagogic way. Every unit (mainly production units) will approve everything in this society. If a decision went against the interests of the whole, a so-called Council of All Workers would have the authority to rescind the decision. Material incentives would be eliminated as nondemocratic, because they are "an instrument of economic coercion to work." In a word, those who want to work will work, and those that do not want to work will not have to. Alcoholics will voluntarily enter treatment, as will drug addicts, and thieves will immediately stop stealing, etc.

To attract attention, Uhl includes certain catchy phrases in his "program." He asserts, for instance, that for starters it will be necessary to eliminate tickets for public transportation, payments for communications services and rent. This will free up a significant portion of the work force "for other, more important tasks." Nor will there be any charge for travel on trains or buses, and day care, school, electricity and gas will all be free. Why? "Because current payments for the use of these services result in operating losses, so we should eliminate them altogether because only a severe shortage of money will cause any individual to refuse to use the services." Uhl has also concluded that it will be necessary to restrict and eventually do away with individual passenger car travel. To what end? There is no doubt that passenger car travel is ecologically harmful. So replace current cars with electromobiles, or nothing.

Uhl also has his own opinions about the armed forces. He would abolish them. But his reasoning is not consistent. Every self-governing division will have a military unit composed of all the workers, and every worker will have his own weapon. The commanders of these military units will be elected. There will be a war, in other words, only if an appropriate situation develops. Everyone will defend himself. Why else should every individual have a weapon, and every self-governing unit a military group?

An important question comes up at this point. What about existing national borders? We quote, "We do not believe that Czechs and Slovaks have a right to their own nation, to any state or national sovereignty. These are categories that are only used by the older generations."

Uhl devotes a chapter to issues of family, emancipation, and "sexual revolution." He writes, "Man is raised to be obedient and passive first of all in the family. In this country the upbringing continues in childhood, then at school, and finally on the job. The family is a means used by every (emphasis in the original—author) national government to control its population...."

What, then, awaits us? Mainly "the resolution of social and personal problems arising from marriage as the sole, coercive form of cohabitation of both sexes, and petrified by party morality and state laws. We must implement sexual freedom, to demonstrate that different groups have the freedom to engage in alternative lifestyles. Sexuality and its manifestations are an essential part of humanity, and therefore the liberation of the individual must necessarily also involve liberation of sexual expression, the liberation of all tabooed human needs and natural joys."

When will this time of rolling in the clover begin? When there is finally a "world revolution." And why a world revolution? Because socialism, according to Trotsky and Uhl, cannot be built in a single country. Uhl confirmed this view very recently in his epistle on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Fourth International, on 14 May 1988.

What should we do until this time arrives? What else, use all our resources to fight against the current political system in the socialist countries. Such is the logic of the slogans shouted by both old and new Trotskyites alike.

Before entering the "wide world of political life" Petr Uhl was not very experienced. He graduated from the department of mechanical engineering of the Czech Institute of Technology [CVUT], worked for a short time as a design engineer, and then for some time as a patent analyst. He then found a place at the Industrial Engineering High School. This is where 1968 found him. At that time, he discovered that he was actually a "natural" theoretician capable of revising Marxist-Leninist teachings.

After meeting with one of the leaders of the Fourth International, Alain Krivin, he began to organize Trotskyite cells. Their first act, in December 1968, was a program document, "Manifesto of the Revolutionary Youth Movement," in which it was once again asserted that "we understand the path of revolution as a permanent revolutionary progress," that a struggle against the social order of the CSSR and other socialist countries "can liberate whole peoples and initiate a new epoch—the building of socialism." In conjunction with the

struggle of the proletariat of the West, this will "foster further expansion of world revolution." This is nothing more than complete phantasmagoria.

Shortly thereafter these new-age Trotskyites began to plan specific actions. In February 1969 they dreamed up a variation of the armed coup d'etat. Then in September of that year, after several additional meetings they organized themselves into a so-called revolutionary socialist party and decided to use code names. Petr Uhl was the chief organizer of all these activities. He even knew about preparations by some members for terrorist actions. He participated in discussions and plans for a takeover of Czechoslovak State Radio and the transmission of antigovernment declarations. He went so far as to set a date for this action—31 December 1969.

Groups with various code names published flyers and declarations, developed contacts with foreign agents, and had ties with the Paris Trotskyite central. Selected members were trained abroad. Basta, Olsa, Stasa and others were in Paris and held talks with representatives of the center. Uhl and Frotik met in West Berlin with one of the senior Trotskyite leaders, the secretary of the Fourth International, Mandel, and made plans to train selected members in Austria.

By the end of 1969 the organization was said to have 111 cells. Each one sent a representative to one of four associations. From there four coordinators along with other chosen leaders planned the activities of the centers.

In 1970, the leaders of the organization, including Petr Uhl, were sentenced to several months without freedoms as punishment for engaging in subversive activities.

After his release, Uhl continued these activities. For instance, he met with the organizational secretary of the Fourth International, who was visiting the CSSR ostensibly as a tourist, and introduced him to other opponents of our social order. He signed an antigovernment document, the Charter. He organized the so-called Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Arrested, the goal of which is to fabricate information for the bourgeois media, and in one way or another devalue legal and other decisions.

Uhl developed contacts with the illegal Polish group, KOR, and later with representatives of "Solidarity," in order to see if he could apply their experiences to the Czechoslovak environment. The result was the founding of the so-called Social Defense Initiative, which was intended to become a Czechoslovak version of "Solidarity." He has tried to penetrate the factories, where the Charter was not successful, in an attempt to expand the ranks of opponents of the regime. He has done this because the "Chartists" did not meet the expectations of their foreign supporters, and have remained only a small, isolated group, with no great impact on the general public.

Uhl is not content, however, with the general objectives of the Chartists. He is making thorough preparations. "It is necessary first of all to penetrate the apparatus of power, to have on our side a part of the army, or to neutralize it by a favorable political atmosphere. We need to paralyze centers of resistance, the People's Militia, the police, commissariats." He wrote this in a 1982 article.

He wants to be a leader, but he has not troops, only fantasies. Nevertheless, why shouldn't his friends from the other side of the border take advantage of his ambitions?

He apparently wants something else than the people with whom he corresponds through Pavel Tigrid and other post-February and post-August emigrants, or his friends from the Fourth International. But is it really something else?

Here we are at the core of the matter. His pseudorevolutionary phraseology in fact hides the same goals as those pursued by other political splinter groups: the overthrow of the current socialist order by any means possible. These objectives, however, and they are well aware of this, have no chance of success. Given this fact they are content instead to attempt to destabilize our society, to retard its development. Anyone is appropriate to carry out this mission. Even the adventurist Petr Uhl with his "permanent revolution."

9276/12232

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

EINHEIT Summaries of Selected Articles in July 1988 Issue

23000117a East Berlin EINHEIT in German
Vol 43 No 7, Jul 88 (signed to press 14 Jun 88)
pp 578, 671

[Text] ["Results of the Moscow Summit" by Erich Hon-ecker (p 579) was published in the FBIS DAILY REPORT: EEU-88-106 OF 2 Jun 88, p 13]

[Article by Ernst Krabatsch, GDR deputy minister for foreign affairs; pp 580-585]

Proceeding Toward Reason

The Moscow USSR-U.S. summit confirmed the estimate that a turn to the better has begun to appear in international relations. The dialogue between the two world powers has become a firm element of international politics with results of benefit to all peoples and states. Though not all opportunities could as yet be exploited for it—because U.S. policy remains inherently contradictory—the Moscow summit has shown what the political dialogue can do and the prospects for a world with fewer weapons, a world without nuclear arms.

[CC Theses "On the 70th Anniversary of the Founding of the KPD" (pp 586-629) were published in FBIS DAILY REPORT EEU-88-125 of 29 Jun 88, pp 15-42]

[Article by Prof Dr Ernst Diehl, member of the SED CC, deputy director of the SED CC's Marxism-Leninism Institute, chairman of the GDR Historical Science Council, and member of the GDR Academy of Sciences; and Prof Dr Fritz Zimmermann, editor in chief of BEITRAEGE ZUR GESCHICHTE DER ARBEITER-BEWEGUNG; pp 630-636]

Our Party's History—A Source of Strength for Further Advances

Vividly, creatively dealing with history, including also precisely its own history, is a firm component of our party's theoretical and practical activity. In reviewing the path taken through history since the 70th KPD anniversary and the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, and in again probing those experiences on behalf of today and tomorrow, the SED thereby also faces the challenges and spiritual needs of our time.

[Article by Prof Dr Walter Schmidt, director of the Central Institute for History in the GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 637-644. A full translation of this article is published in this report.]

Legacy and Tradition in the GDR's Concept of History

Intensively dealing with and critically confronting all of German history in all its diversity and contradictoriness has been characteristic of socialist society from the start. What distinguishes our manner of dealing with our legacy and tradition? What are our priorities in completing our image of history? What has already been accomplished and what new tasks are we imposing on ourselves on behalf of further advances?

[Article by Prof Dr Walter Wimmer, deputy department chief at the SED CC's Marxism-Leninism Institute; pp 645-650]

Reflections on History

What distinguishes our view of history and our endeavor to make it bear fruit for today and tomorrow? Where are the causes for the objectively grown role of historical consciousness and experience, for dealing with our legacy and, hence, for the acuity in the issue-taking over history? Why is historical thought, our responsibly dealing with history, always directed ahead, toward the future, for us? What are the main historic events and connections that must now receive attention in our indoctrination about history?

[Article by Dr Kolbe, political associate of the SED CC; pp 651-653]

The State Budget—A State's Calling Card

Rapid application of scientific-technical innovations, speeding up socialist rationalization, trimming the costs in time, material, and energy, and high demands made on the quality of labor—all this affects the size of the distributable end product and is crucial for resolutely carrying on our integrated economic and social policies. Like a calling card a state budget informs about the bases on which we place economic development and social security.

[Article by Ruediger Weissbarth, African area specialist and economist, branch chief in the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs; pp 654-656]

Freedom for the Fighters Against Apartheid

Nelson Mandela, a symbol of the South African people's freedom struggle against the Pretoria racist regime has been incarcerated for 25 years already. His 70th birthday has become the occasion for a mighty wave of worldwide sympathy and solidarity for the fighters against the apartheid system, which finds itself now in its deepest crisis ever.

05885/09599

HUNGARY

Thorny Questions Remain Despite Political Thaw

23000104 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER
ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 1 Jul 88 p 27

[Article by Hans-Henning Paetzke: "Hungarian Spring: Pluralization Controlled by the Party?"]

[Text] Budapest, end of June—Hungary 1956, Czechoslovakia 1968, Poland 1980. Every 12 years—at least that is the way it has seemed so far—fermentation processes have developed in East Europe which have given the party authorities in the communist power structure considerable headaches. Since the Soviet Union now, in the person of Gorbachev and in the symbolic slogans of perestroika and glasnost, has its Dubcek in its own country, there is an acceleration of the reform process which has been sabotaged for decades but is more than overdue. In the lee of the stormy Moscow development, Hungary is again assuming the role of a leading horseman—32 years after the suppression of its revolution and 30 years after the execution of Imre Nagy, the leader of the 1956 revolution.

In this connection, Janos Kadar's release from the post of party chief at the special party conference on 21 and 22 May takes on symptomatic and symbolic significance. And the expulsion of the Kadar generation from the Politburo is almost as exciting as the fact that these

changes have been accompanied by a springlike awakening of the politically conscious forces of the populace; henceforth, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party will certainly have to take this populace more into consideration. In the last few weeks, according to official figures, 100,000 members have left the Communist Youth Union (KISZ). The student youth is organizing itself. On 14 May the founding session of the independent Union of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) took place in the Budapest Jurta Theater, the only private theater in East Europe. If it is borne in mind that the number of members at the universities are now to some extent above those of the state-directed Communist Youth Union, then one can perhaps speak of a high-explosive development in Hungary.

Thus the founding session was preceded by house searches, interrogations, and police warnings. At a press conference in London, Premier and Kadar successor Karoly Grosz defended the state administration's harsh measures. The warning given to the leading Young Democrats, he said, bore witness to the humane attitude of the government organs. After all, he said, no court proceedings were conducted against them, despite their violations of the law.

This could be interpreted as an at least temporary weakness and uncertainty on the part of the top Hungarian leadership. After all, the economic and social difficulties of Hungary are increasing. The per capita foreign debt of the population is the highest in East Europe. Inflation this year is around 18 percent, the gulf between poor and rich is growing much wider, the impoverishment of broad circles of the population is assuming dramatic forms, unemployment figures are rising sharply without a social security net comparable to that of the FRG even at the basic level, the youth's future prospects are hopeless, and environmental policy does not conform to the present level of knowledge; thus, the Danube dam at Boes-Nagymaros is being built despite the most vigorous protests by environmental protectionists, even though the required agreements signed at the start of the 1950's have long since fallen into ill repute because of the new environment awareness. However, the construction is being financed by Austria, which is cleverly exporting its own environmental problems to the East Bloc. In addition, the Soviets are said to be interested in the construction of the dam for military purposes.

On 15 May, there was a gathering in the filled-to-overflowing Jurta Theater of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, whose leading representatives were the dramatist Istvan Csurka and the poet Sandor Csori. Both have fallen into disfavor with the state authorities in the past few years, for which they have been subjected to a publication ban. Now, however—and this is what is new in Hungary—the limits of internal autonomy have significantly widened both quantitatively and qualitatively. There was a blunt demand made at the forum for rehabilitation of the revolutionary leader Imre Nagy, whose 30th execution anniversary was on 16 June. This

demand is politically explosive—after all, Imre Nagy had declared Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact, proclaimed the country's neutrality, demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops, accepted introduction of the multiparty system, and much more. That means that a rehabilitation of Imre Nagy would involve the political realization of that which the 1956 premier had already carried out or decreed. Incredible. And nevertheless, all these demands of 1956 are no longer taboo in 1988. It is being said openly and clearly that the Communist party has economically and politically failed and has therefore irrevocably forfeited its claim to leadership.

It is particularly interesting and impressive sociologically and politically that those gathered in the hall seemed to reflect society in its entirety. Whoever recalls the weeks before the outbreak of the national uprising will declare that the atmosphere today and the mood of 1956 are alarmingly similar. Such a statement must be disputed by the fact that the present leadership, in contrast to 1956, is not burdened with responsibility for the Stalinist terror but rather only with its failure, inherent in the system, above all in the economic realm. An indication that the Politburo elected on 22 May is conscious of this failure may be the naming to the new Politburo of Rezso Nyers—the former Social Democrat Rezso Nyers who, as father of the New Economic Mechanism introduced in 1968, had been toppled by the antireform wing and expelled from the centers of power in 1974.

Mistrustful Scientists

An eternal dilemma of really existing socialism is manifested in the following: The need for reform, that is, the liberalization of the economy is understood, but not the pluralization of society which is requisite along with it. Whenever such an undesired development threatens, the emergency brake is always put on. Thus it might be that, along with that which the Budapest Spring impulses are bringing forth, the scientists' lack of trust in the reformability of the state trade union has led to the founding on 14 May of the Democratic Trade Union of Scientists. Is something similar under way to that which happened in Poland in 1980? With a further worsening of the economic situation, this cannot be ruled out.

What the small group of the Democratic opposition has demanded in a lost cause since the end of the 1970's—pluralization of society and liberalization of the economy, institutional guarantees of social, economic, and political concessions—has now been seized upon and articulated by the heretofore silent masses. Associations and political organizations are shooting up like mushrooms out of the ground. The attempt is made not to exceed the boundaries of legality, but nevertheless the strategy of social self-defense is being used. It was the novelist and essayist Gyorgy Konrad who called for disobedience toward the political class in his essay "Antipolitics." The seed has sprung up. Even in the party, even in the media, the Spring has cautiously

moved in. There are fewer and fewer taboo themes. Yet the decisive thing is not just the articulation of social unrest, but also the changing of the social structures which caused this unrest.

In Hungary in 1988 everything is conceivable, everything is permitted which does not seriously endanger the party's monopoly of power. Thus it is not surprising that for Kadar-successor Karoly Grosz, who received much advance praise, the boundaries between an opposition figure and an enemy of the dictatorship of the proletariat hardly exist. He might be grateful to the former Stalinist and premier, Andras Hegedus, who after his return from Moscow exile in 1958 was prominent as a sociologist, opposition figure, and Marxist prophet and initiated and predicted a pluralization of society as well as the party within the one-party system. Pluralization under the control of the party is the magic formula for retention of power.

Metaphysical Anarchists

Yet the questions of the formless and mute rank-and-file are becoming more urgent. The eternal conformists are turning into metaphysical anarchists. To thunderous applause the poet Denes Csengey asked the Democratic Forum meeting in the Jurta Theater: "Where is Imre Nagy buried? Secret. Why is the most highly developed production system in world history on the verge of economic collapse after a 50-year continuous further development? Secret. Why did all the real, natural, and organic communities, beginning with the political parties and extending through the workers' councils and the traditional communities of the peasantry up to the spiritual currents of the intelligentsia have to be smashed to pieces and later even families and friendships shattered in order to establish a collective society? Secret. Why do the figures on Hungarian population growth show neohistoric suicide tendencies? Secret. Why has the Hungarian Government silently assisted the fraternal countries in their attempted liquidation of our national minorities? Secret. Why at the same time did Hungarian regiments join the armed cordon which stopped the Czech and Slovak people at the threshold of their self-chosen future? Secret. Why does every Hungarian infant who is being bathed at this moment already have debts of \$1,500? Secret. Why were all of us decades-long accomplices in this disastrous secrecy? That is the greatest secret."

At the East Berlin conference for a nuclear weapons-free Europe, Hungarian Central Committee Secretary Matyas Szuros referred to the interest of his country in withdrawal of "the Soviet troops temporarily stationed in Hungary." Since January of this year, almost every Hungarian citizen can travel to the West at any time so long as he has available a minimum of foreign currency. Only a few hundred persons, mostly former political prisoners, are excluded from this regulation. Among the opposition leaders, one above all is not allowed to travel: Ferenc Koszeg. This might be a narrow-minded act of

revenge by the political police for his organizational initiatives on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the 1956 revolt. This action is particularly disquieting since Koszeg is not permitted to visit his 78-year-old sick mother in the FRG. During the Pope's visit to Austria, moreover, 50,000 Hungarians streamed unhindered across the borders.

At the end of May, a demonstration was permitted of environmental protectionists who were protesting against the Boes-Nagymaros dam. The demonstrators applauded the police for its correct behavior. On 16 June, a demonstration of around 300 Imre Nagy supporters on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of his execution was tolerated, while the connected demonstration in Batthiany Square was brutally smashed. On 27 June, a sympathy demonstration was authorized in support of the oppressed Hungarian minority in Romanian Transylvania; it was planned by the opposition and sponsored by the state-directed Patriotic Front. It is certainly still too early to analyze the political course of Karoly Grosz. However, one thing is already clear: In a situation that is extremely difficult for the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, he understands how to channel growing nationalistic longings and use them as a safety valve for the politically threatening economic crisis. Nevertheless, the intellectuals, who want to be politically emancipated without any use of force at all, remain worried and mistrustful.

Champagne Proof

Before the Democratic Forum, the journalist Gabor Czako said: "A few years ago I was visited by a friend with his brand new party college diploma and a bottle of Csopak wine. Contrary to our tacit agreement, he involved me in a political discussion. Toward midnight I let slip the remark that I would give him a case of Soviet champagne if he would prove to me that Marxism-Leninism had been validated by anything at all, or that the Eastern quality of life was superior to that of the West in any respect, or that the Eastern countries had ever one single time on their own initiative committed themselves to a good cause, or that they had ever spoken the truth one single time. My friend was bewildered. He had not yet considered the problem from this viewpoint. But he fought until four in the morning and then gave up any claim to the champagne."

The disastrous effects of a decades-long mismanagement have brought Hungary to the brink of ruin. In the shadow of this development, that halfheartedly tolerated democratization campaign "from below" is gaining strength. These revolutionary activities will become dangerous for the supremacy of the Communist party only when they become independent and turn into a genuine mass movement. That is out of the question at the moment. However, if the economic situation in Hungary should dramatically worsen, which can no longer be ruled out, the onset of Polish conditions of 1980 can

force the Budapest, and perhaps also the Moscow, party central to act. Will the Budapest Spring be followed by an autumn? That depends not least on the Moscow summer.

13455/08309

Academy of Sciences [MTA] Included in Government Decisionmaking

Law Institutionalizes Advisory Body
25000215 Budapest MAGYAR KOZLONY in
Hungarian No 17, 26 Apr 88 pp 494-495

[Excerpt]

Part 3 Determinations

Determinations of the Council of Ministers

Determination No 1030-MT of 26 April 1988 Concerning the Advisory Body to the Council of Ministers

1. In order to improve the scientific foundation of decisions reached by the Council of Ministers, and explore from many vantage points the consequences that can be expected from such decisions, the Council of Ministers establishes the Advisory Body to the Council of Ministers. The Advisory Body shall function in the framework of the MTA.

2. The Advisory Body shall:

a. express opinions during the preliminary period to decision-making in fields defined by the Council of Ministers and the president of the Council of Ministers with respect to issues related to social, economic and other branch policies, and if necessary, shall initiate decision-making; and shall

b. participate in the evaluation of the anticipated or actual consequences of governmental decisions.

3. The Council of Ministers requests the following persons to act as chairman, secretary and permanent members of the Advisory Body:

Chairman of the Advisory Body: Jozsef Bogнар

Cochairman: Laszlo Kapolyi

Secretary: Peter Veress

Members: Jeno Andics, Ivan T. Berend, Csaba Csaki, Bela Csikos Nagy, Janos Fekete, Csaba Mako, Rezso Nyers, Ferenc Pataki, and Tamas Sarkozy

4. The president of the Council of Ministers may request other experts to serve in the Advisory Body with respect to given tasks and for a limited time.

5. In formulating viewpoints, members of the Advisory Body are not bound by determinations made by state organs, and owe allegiance to their scientific convictions.

6. The chairman of the Advisory Body shall forward the Advisory Body's opinions and recommendations to the president of the Council of Ministers, and in cases involving the jurisdiction of the Committee on the Planned Economy, to the chairman of the Committee on the Planned Economy.

7. Funds required for the operation of the Advisory Body shall be provided by the Council of Ministers. Such funds shall be administered in the framework of the MTA as a segregated fund. Utilization of these funds is at the discretion of the Advisory Body.

8. The Council of Ministers requests the MTA Presidium and its scientific organs to support effectively the successful functioning of the Advisory Body.

The MTA secretary general shall see to it that research institutes under his jurisdiction support the workings of the Advisory Body and that they fulfill the requests of the Advisory Body.

9. The Advisory Body shall establish its own agenda and workplan.

10. Those requested to serve permanently and temporarily on the Advisory Board shall receive a monthly honorarium for their work.

11. This determination is effective as of 22 April 1988

[Signed] Karoly Grosz, president, Council of Ministers

New Chairman Bogнар Elaborates
25000215 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian
18 May 88 p 3

[Article by Jozsef Bogнар, academician, chairman of the Advisory Board: "Confidence and Cooperation in the Making" under the rubric "Hungarian Panorama—Forum"]

[Text] In late April the Council of Ministers established an Advisory Body to strengthen the scientific and sociopolitical foundations of governmental decisions. In the future, the Advisory Body will express its opinions in the preparatory stages of decision-making—and if it finds a need, will initiate decision-making—in comprehensive social, economic and other questions.

The type of development which, similarly to other developed countries, led to the creation of the Advisory Body, started out in two directions and progressed forward during the last few decades.

One of the directions is the government, whose tasks increased not only quantitatively and in their breadth, but also qualitatively in the strict sense of that term, meaning that it is supposed hold together an increasingly complex society. A more complex society also means that one must reckon with an increasing number of

diverse interests, an increasing number of mutual effects—among them primary and side effects, international contexts and various “timing systems.” Namely, there exist opportunities for action and decision which appear as beneficial and useful in the short term, but which exert negative effects in the long term. (This, of course, does not mean that it would be possible, or for that matter rational, to have an action system which concerns itself exclusively with long term effects. We are talking about a combination of two kinds of timing systems.)

From the standpoint of societal, political, economic and cultural needs, governmental work is ripe for the transformation of its content and methods.

From the standpoint of science, however, some abilities have developed, meaning that modern scientific research is capable of doing more than just “recording,” and analyzing situations and contexts that have evolved. Modern scientific research is also capable of developing consistent “action systems” for the future.

More Direct Forms of Relationships

Quite naturally, science is not able to develop future “action systems” at the same level of confidence, because it is easier to analyze thoroughly and in its several aspects what exists than to develop a comprehensive, modern action system projected into the future—one that takes into consideration the needs and capabilities of society, the interests of the great masses, and the direction of international trends. Meanwhile the capabilities of humanity (of societies) undergo gradual change, keeping in step with historical processes on the basis of experience. Accordingly, one may assume that methods and abilities related to action systems also progress.

One must also take into consideration that today's governmental structures evolved in the age of an “over-specialized” social concept, which was based on the assumption that the social-organizational optimum flows from the sum total of all the optima found in branches and professions. Developments during the past decades convincingly prove that decisions elevated by government to the rank of “national economy optima” were frequent sources of confusion in society, because they had their origins in diverse professional concepts. The value systems which became embodied in these decisions frequently crossed paths, and therefore the resultant social processes turned out to be the opposite of what was decided. For this reason governmental work cannot be based merely on the concepts of interests represented by the various branches or by power centers. Instead, there is a need for decision-making and action systems which are more independent and more multifaceted, and which weigh “cross effects.”

Quite naturally, if we are talking about more direct forms of relationships between governmental work and the sciences, then my understanding of the word science means not only the members of the Advisory Body. It is for this reason that in the past I held the view—and I continue to hold this view—that the Advisory Body must remain within the “academic system,” meaning that it must keep pace with substantive and methodical developments in the field of research, and must renew its thinking through consultations and through the examination of alternatives. After all, following the “laws of motion” pertaining to the state apparatus, a researcher who sits in an office frequently turns into a bureaucrat.

This advisory system extends to cabinet leaders (prime minister and deputy prime minister), and does not deal with the issue of scientific assistance to be provided to individual ministries. The scientific support of individual ministries—complete with all its virtues and flaws—may be considered “resolved” since the bulk of ministries has at its disposal a significant scientific research network. Within these apparatuses are many highly trained and recognized researchers but, understandably, they view their ministry's interest as having priority while the Advisory Body must start from the vantage point of an appropriate combination of various interests, (and here I have in mind not only “interests” in the clear meaning of that term).

The One Who Falls Behind Loses Decades

Not unlike the workings of the government, advisory services must primarily deal with tasks that flow from problems and problem clusters related to closing up ranks based on the export orientation of the Hungarian economy.

In my view the main problem is not the lack of balance itself. Instead the problem rests in the kinds of factors whose effects created the lack of balance, and in the action system one might expect to see that the trend of falling behind is exchanged for a trend of development. Although possibly unavoidable in the short term, I do not believe in economic restrictions. I believe only in development. We have every reason to stress that we are not talking simply about the quantitative increase of production. That would only reproduce the lack of balance on an expanded scale. We are talking about a kind of technical, economic and cultural development which can stabilize our situation in the international competition that emerges in world markets. This approach requires more developmental means than what we have at our disposal, of course. This is why we must transform our “frozen” capital into capital that can be invested, this is why every unit of the economy must be made interested in development and in exporting, and this is why foreign capital must be drawn in for purposes of development in various forms [“constructions”].

It is obvious that a debtor and technically backward nation cannot seclude itself or turn inward! For this reason I believe that a modern and profitable Hungarian export [structure] must be increased. The opportunity for this can be assured only by adopting modern technology. I would like to add that in my view the term "modern technology" means more than production technology. This is because we are even more backward in regards to modern, international organizational forms, marketing, and the developmental level of financial conditions than in production.

The one who falls behind these days loses decades. This is because qualitative, technological and organizational development has accelerated extraordinarily.

With Confidence and Cooperation

The two events of one's appointment to a new post and one's resignation from old positions does not always coincide in time. I have already retired from the Institute on Global Economy, and my outstanding associate, Mihaly Simai has taken over the Institute's leadership. This frees me from many operational duties. It is my intention to say farewell to a few other places, but time is needed. I will remain a member of the National Assembly. After all, I will also perform voluntary work within the Advisory Body. This means that I do not have a separate "office" where I must sit. Still another problem presents itself in the Presidency of the World Federation of Hungarians, which means the management of 5 or 6 sessions, and at the same time also means a great number of external contacts (Hungarians living abroad) which I can make use of even in my advisory capacity.

The weakening of confidence in sciences is related in part to rapid scientific development. In the eyes of the people, new discoveries and new visions often reduce the significance of established knowledge. This, however, is part of the price we pay for progress. We cannot count on the return of "solid" theses which remain unchanged for a long period of time, or on the return of catechismal thinking. I believe that today we must not regard primarily knowledge as science, but rather the ability to think—which ensures the potential of acquiring new knowledge.

On the other hand, the development of knowledge, of methods and of action systems is a perennial duty, because that serves as the foundation for development.

I do feel that confidence and cooperation between the political leadership and the sciences is in the process of settling, and I view the cabinet decision to establish the Advisory Body as a product of that healthy process.

12995

Finances, Income of Trade Union Council Revealed to Weekly

25000221b Budapest OTLET in Hungarian
5 May 88 p 21

[Article by Katalin Vrnai: "What Are the Dues Spent On?"]

[Text] "The salaries of SZOT's [National Council of Trade Unions] first two leaders were about the same as the 29,500 forint [per month] average ministerial salary last year."

To what and how do trade unions allocate their budgets?—We voiced our long-standing curiosity with the sense that such and similar questions can command more publicity now than earlier. When answering, Gyorgy Pinter the head of SZOT's financial and economic department also showed us the report of the last fiscal year, which, among others, contains the following: "The SZOT's plenary session also took the position that the budgets of the trade unions have to receive more publicity."

Hungarian trade unions comprising 3.2 million active members do not receive direct state subsidy. Nevertheless, the introduction of the new membership dues system provided them with indirect state support, since the tax benefit, approved by the Parliament, given to organized workers paying membership dues and through them to the whole movement cannot be considered anything else. (We could experience during the past quarter that the trade union membership dues are deducted from the taxable amount. This way, although membership dues increased, the actual amount paid by the organized worker did not. The payment, however, increases the revenues of the [trade union] movement and not the state treasury.)

For the time being, the surplus revenues of trade unions are unknown. According to one estimate, they can count on an increase of 400 million forints if the number of member remains the same; however, this year 6 percent of members (about 200,000 people) refused to sign the declaration allowing the automatic deduction of membership dues from their salaries. The refusal to sign the declaration does not mean quitting, though, since these people still may pay their dues into the hands of the trade union steward. The quarterly interim report shows that the organization decreases by some 3 percent this year, but even so, trade unions will have higher revenues. (Let's have a little digression here: in 1977 95.5 percent, in 1986 96.2 percent and in 1985 96.4 percent of all employed were trade union members.) Indirect support is the 200 million forints the trade union movement receives as reimbursement expressly for educational and cultural purposes. This amount gradually decreases, though, last year, for example, it was 5 percent less than in the previous year. The fact that, like ministries, trade

unions have to pay only 10 percent social insurance fee after their employees instead of the usual 40 percent, also constitutes a form of financial help.

Whether the above amounts are relatively high or low is everybody's guess, based on the information that the total revenues of the trade unions were 2,632 billion forints last year, 2.2 billion forints, i.e., 83 percent of which was made up of membership dues. The remaining 17 percent is composed of 200 million forints of central, and somewhat more than this amount, of basic unit contributions. The basic units, for instance, receive money from the contributions for excursions and events and institutional support. The central leadership gets revenues from the subscriptions to publications and magazines—this, however, should not mislead anybody since these usually close with a deficit. The trade unions' sources are also increased by different building and room rental fees, events and other services, up to the sum of 13.8 million forints. They acquired 67.3 million forints as "other revenues"; this means that, for example, other users contributed, too, to the construction of the Sopron and to the renovation of the Fured recreation resort. Interest revenues reached 67.6 million forints last year. Trade unions can deposit their money in savings accounts under the same conditions as the population, or they buy bonds.

With this we reached the column entitled "Expenses." Our attention was called to the fact that the items in this column are increasing, too, if only because of the price hikes. In 1987, the expenses of the trade unions, a total of 2,539 billion forints, were covered by their revenues. Expenses have increased by 2.9 percent last year compared to 1986. The basic units get back 71 percent of membership dues: 50 percent directly and 21 percent indirectly. From the total revenues of trade unions 60 percent ends up at the basic units. Returns considered "indirect"—21 percent of the total revenues—are, for instance, constructions in the value of 176 million forints. Most constructions involve recreational resorts, not as many cultural institutions, while no office building has been built lately. Also regarded as indirect return is the financial support of 276 million forints by trade union centers for social, cultural and sports causes.

The amount remaining with the basic units—44.4 percent of the 1.3 billion forints—was spent on aid and other social help. Out of this 577 million forints 395 million forints of aid was distributed among 465 thousand people. Trade unions, however, can provide aid not only out of their own sources but of the companies' welfare funds, as well, since the distribution of the latter is within their scope of responsibility. This way, trade union members receive another form of support, although theoretically non-members may get aid from the company welfare fund. The report mentioned in the introduction, however, expressly refers to members when it says that "...591 million forints of aid was provided for 671 thousand members from company

welfare funds." (Is it justified that only organized workers may get aid from company sources when the welfare funds are not created only for them?) Altogether, 986 million forints of aid was paid to 1.136 million members; the average per capita aid was 876 forints. The 182 million forints spent on "other social uses" was partly given to big families and senior citizens by the basic units paying part or all of their recreational resort tickets. The rest was spent on repair and maintenance of resorts, senior citizen reunions and the visiting of sick people.

Organizational work used up 183.3 million forints, within that, 112.3 million forints was paid as bonus to 177 thousand trade union stewards and social activists. 84.5 million forints was paid for the handling of registrations and assets and for administrative work.

The basic units employ 1,312 full-time officers. 181 million forints, or the 14 percent of the basic units' expenses, was spent on their salary and fringe benefits and non-full-timers' fees. I could not find out how much a full-time officer earns. Secretaries usually earn 10 to 15 percent more than the average wage or salary in their industry, but Gyorgy Pinter warned me that this was a very inaccurate estimate. Based on the data I had I could not calculate the average salary since the report includes both the salary of full-time officers and the non-full-timers' fees.

The central and mid-level organizations of trade unions had a budget of 576.9 million forints last year. 43.5 percent of this, or 251 million forints was spent on the salary of officers and employees of the apparatus, altogether 1,786 people. Neither could I learn more about their salaries, but Gyorgy Pinter reminded me that such data had already appeared in the Hungarian press (HVG [World Economics Weekly], December 19, 1988). Based on that information, the salaries of the SZOT's first two leaders were about the same as the 29,500 forint average ministerial salary last year, while SZOT secretaries' basic salary was 23-25 thousand forints.

13212

Mood of Youth Worse Than Generally Reflected, Says KISZ Official

25(00)223a Budapest ESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian
20 Jun 88 p 4

[Article by Lajos Pogonyi: "What Kind of Alliance Should It Be? Conversation With the Budapest KISZ Secretary"]

[Text] We discussed the political mood of the capital's youth and the KISZ's responsibility and tasks with Andras Boros, the secretary of the Budapest committee of the organization. The 28-year old secretary, a chemical engineer, deals with the students of secondary schools and higher educational institutions and starting teachers.

Previously, he performed different functions at the Budapest Technical University. He has been in his current position since last March.

General Mood and Judgment

"During past decades, the KISZ has not reflected on time and with adequate efficiency the tensions evolving among the youth," begins the KISZ secretary. "On the contrary, it took the political role of soothing contradictions. The KISZ, as one of the pillars of the political institutional system, is also responsible for the present situation."

[Question] How do you evaluate the mood of university and secondary school students?

[Answer] The mood of the youth is worse than the outside world and the big national politicians think. There still exist self-deceiving theses about today's Hungarian youth. It has to be faced that the different strata of the youth have different judgments about the existing socialism. If we accept—and we have to accept—that society is divided by interests, then this is just as true for the youth. The bad mood of the youth has financial, existential and political reasons. Frequently, their salary has nothing to do with their performance. They face many more difficulties in obtaining apartments. Fewer and fewer young people are in leading positions. The youth did not get a chance to have a say in the preparation of political decisions. There has not been meaningful dialogue between different generations and social interest groups. Therefore, now we have to deal with such youth.

In Some Places the KISZ Is Struggling for Its Survival

[Question] Do you feel that there is a lack of official competition for the KISZ?

[Answer] We badly need competition because it would encourage us to perform better, and would help form clear political streams within the youth.

[Question] What kind of relationship does the KISZ have with nonofficial youth organizations?

[Answer] There are organizations operating outside the KISZ at different Budapest universities, such as the ELTE, the University of Economics and the Technical University. The main problem is that the "communication vessels" of the political institutional system are still so narrow that all views different from the official one are put on the same platform just because they are not legalized. The KISZ supports the clarification of the

political organizations' legal position, because in the present situation all are under the same label because they are not "official." We organize our own opposition with this.

[Question] What is the KISZ's organization like at the institutions of higher education in Budapest?

[Answer] There are universities where its formal position is strong, i.e. 40-50 percent of the students are in the organization. There are places where this is coupled with serious political activity. On the other hand, in some places the KISZ is struggling for survival. For example, at the ELTE. The situation is not much better at the University of Economics either. At the Technical University, the KISZ tries to appear strong. The Political Podium started last spring created a big commotion. Here the organization conducts a very active political activity, but it is very difficult today since there are still many who think that the different institutional leaders exist only to appease the youth's dissatisfaction. On the contrary, their role is to signal and build a political base.

Four Million Forint Support

[Question] What is the situation of the amateur student groups in secondary schools like?

[Answer] Our view is that someone should not be a KISZ member in order to be allowed to play in the student actor club. The Central Committee of the KISZ, for example, dedicated 4 million forints to finance the Budapest student clubs last year. We also see this as a political task.

[Question] Not every member of the 650,000-member KISZ can be expected to be a communist; however, this is what the youth organization—at least, in its name—demands. Isn't this a contradiction?

[Answer] Indeed, this problem cannot be avoided. At the same time, the name KISZ contains the word "association." A 14- or 18-year-old really cannot be expected to have an established communist view of the world. Let me add that it is not the name that is important. The KISZ today has to think about whether it wants to have stratum organizations. Or whether it wants to be an umbrella association of autonomous youth organizations. The emphasis here is on association. Presently the KISZ, at least in my opinion, is not an association in this sense; it has a national hierarchy with committees at different levels and not member organizations. There is no decision yet, because we have to decide this together with the youth. If there is a national KISZ conference, one of the main subjects could be how the KISZ should be renewed in terms of the differentiation of the youth.

13212

POLAND

Press, Personnel Changes, Media Developments, April 1988

26000472a Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish
No 6, Jun 88 pp 58-60

[Text]

1 April

Anna Baranowska was appointed deputy chief editor of the periodical JA, TY, MY.

Ewa Kluczkowska was appointed deputy chief editor of the weekly, ITD.

Dariusz Wysocki was appointed deputy chief editor of TYGODNIK PLOCKI.

2 April

There has appeared in the Soviet Union a new weekly dedicated to international affairs, EKHO PLANETY. The weekly is published by TASS and the USSR Journalists' Association. In conversation with Henryk Chadzynski, Chief Editor Nikolay Setunsky said: "The credo of our new weekly is to objectively report on world events and give full consideration to their complex and sometimes even contradictory nature. We have enormous opportunities for this type of reporting. No other press organ has as broad a network of correspondents as TASS. TASS correspondents are accredited in 125 countries" (ZYCIE WARSZAWY No. 78/1988).

6-7 April

At the SD Lodz Club for Union and Worker Self-Management Publicists, there was a meeting on social activity at places of employment during the second stage of economic reform.

8 April

In honor of the 45th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, the SD Polonia Club held at the Journalists' Palace in Warsaw a meeting dedicated to discussion of various aspects of Polish-Jewish relations. The meeting was attended by Professor Jozef A. Gierowski, director of Jagiellonian University's Institute for Study of the History of Jews in Poland and a member of Oxford University's Institute of Polish-Jewish Studies, Szymon Szurmiej, chairman of the Social and Cultural Association of Jews in Poland, and Doctor Jacek Wilczur of the Chief Commission for the Investigation of Nazi War Crimes in Poland.

14-17 April

The SD Club for Communications and Transportation Publicists held a meeting dedicated to the achievements of Lower Silesian railway workers, transportation investments in Greater Silesia and the problems of cooperation between the Polish State Railroads and PAFAWAG.

20 April

At the Evangelical Academy in Locum, there was a three-day convocation of journalists from Poland and the FRG which met under the slogan, "On the future of German-Polish relations".

20 April

The Warsaw SD Polonia Club organized a meeting with the chairman of the Polonia Society, Tadeusz A. Mlynzak, who spoke about his recent visit to the USA and his meetings with senators and congressmen and with the representatives of Polish organizations with which Polonia has not up to now had any contact.

28 April

The Warsaw Palace of Soviet Science and Culture was the scene of the latest roundtable meeting of Polish and Soviet journalists and scientists on the problems and tasks of Polish-Soviet cooperation in economics, science and technology. The co-organizer of the meeting was the SD Friendship Writer's Club.

30 April

Zygmunt Wojcik was dismissed from his post as deputy chief editor of REGIONY.

Supplement

Recent issues of the chronicle have not included all of February and March's personnel changes and so we are publishing them now.

1 February

Jerzy Gluszczyński was appointed chief editor of the new quarterly, MŁODZIEŻ I WIEŚ.

Henryk Paszke was appointed deputy chief editor of MŁODZIEŻ I WIEŚ.

1 March

Andrzej ZMUDA was appointed chief editor of the new monthly, ATUT.

31 March

Bogdan Mis was dismissed as chief editor of STRAZAK.

Korneliusz Pacuda was dismissed as deputy chief editor of MAGAZYN MUZYCZNY—JAZZ.

12261

French Correspondent Attacks Inefficiencies of Reform, Censor

26000472b Poznan WPROST in Polish No 23.
5 Jun 88 pp 4-6

[Interview with Bernard Margueritte, journalist, by Janusz Michalik: "The French Connection"]

[Text] Janusz Michalik speaks with Bernard Margueritte, journalist, experienced press and radio correspondent and presently French Television's Polish correspondent.

[Question] In an interview you gave to the new PRON paper, KONFRONTACJE, you said that from time to time you experience a "psychodrama". You sit in an armchair and try to imagine what you would do if you were in the shoes of the Polish government.

[Answer] Were I in the government, I think that I would start with an earnest analysis of the situation and open discussion of your problems. In the interview you mentioned, the censor made a few changes to my words and I was therefore not allowed to say everything just as I meant it. Unless people are allowed to speak their minds and express even controversial opinions about your problems, nothing can ever be done in Poland.

[Question] Are you saying that the Polish press does not publish diverse and sometimes even extreme opinions?

[Answer] No. I think that the press is doing a good job but your censorship is an anachronism. I have had to deal with these censors for years. For example, from the Solidarity era I remember that both sides censored my dispatches. In the evening, I would hear Radio Free Europe reading that part of my article that best suited its broadcast and the next morning, TRYBUNA LUDU printed the part that suited it best. If a Pole wanted to find out what this Margueritte fellow really wrote, he would have to hear the broadcast and read the paper. Meanwhile, I am simply trying to write about conditions in Poland in all their complexity. I write about both the good and the bad sides of life here. I think that Poland is an exceptional country in which no problem is a simple one. Every political event is influenced by the specific nature of this country and to write about events here, one must understand that nature. [Question] What do you think is that nature?

[Answer] Poland must fulfill certain conditions to overcome her crisis. I can roughly formulate those conditions in 12 different points. First, Poles must drop their illusions and understand that regardless of events, the future of their country or at least of the type of country they want to see involves socialism. Second, certain elements of Poland's being a socialist country must be accepted and respected. For example, the party's leading role is another matter and how is it to be expressed? What about Poland's place within the Warsaw Pact? Third, the government should be more cognizant of the

fact that although the Poles are a Slavic people, they have been a Christian nation with a western culture and civilization for over a thousand years. The fourth point concerns the really serious economic crisis and the even more dramatic social crisis. If you cannot mobilize people to overcome these crises, then you will accomplish nothing and Poland, a country in the middle of Europe and a country of great traditions, will become in our eyes another Third World nation. My fifth point involves your trumps. Obviously, these include your natural resources and above all your agriculture. But your greatest advantage is your vitality, the high level of education of your people and your wonderful youth who lack the sort of life prospects they need. You must learn to use this potential and finally learn how to apply your great talents in almost every area of life. In my sixth point I include the need for profound economic reforms that are impossible without political reform. This is a matter of more than just the "facts" but also one of how they are received by the public. Poland must have a change of political climate. The leaders can carry out certain reforms but if the people do not become involved and see in these reforms their hope and opportunity, then no change in the functioning of the system will amount to anything. Recently, the Soviet historian Afanasyev told me that in the socialist countries, the Stalinist system has not been totally vanquished, especially in the economy. Therefore, the structures from this era have not been adequate for either the level of productive forces nor for the current state of public awareness. It is therefore profoundly antimarxist to allow such structures to persist.

[Question] All of that sounds well and fine but our own writers have all discussed this in some detail.

[Answer] Now just a minute! First let us make some sense out of the facts and then find the solution. If we talk about the need for change, then we must also emphasize that these changes cannot be made without some authentic dialogue with all levels of society. It is necessary to talk with everyone that represents something. And that was my seventh point. If, for example, Poland had a Nobel Prize laureate, then it seems quite natural that his or her opinion would also have to be considered. There is not enough time to waste on insulting one another. I am alarmed when I hear the conditions placed on letting people from "the other side" speak their minds but on the other hand, that "other side" really has something to say. For example, I myself heard one of Solidarity's leaders say that they will go down with the ship but that they will do so with dignity and hold the flag high. It is therefore necessary to talk with everyone that counts. I think that there is not only an internal need for reform to succeed but also another need and that is for Poland to make changes that are credible to the outside world.

[Question] And by that do you mean our Western financiers and creditors, the hard-nosed businessmen for whom nothing matters more than profits or the people to whom "ideological sentiments" are important?

[Answer] Despite the concern their own people feel about events in Poland, the Western governments and capitalists also have their hands tied and cannot do much. The eighth point of my informal analysis concerns the need for Poland to drop its awful principle of negative selection of personnel with all the harm it has done the system. The talented and "independent" person can no longer be regarded as worse than the "member". There is no country now that can any longer afford this luxury. And the other thing, who knows if your negative work incentive is not something worse. This negative motivation has made the person who sticks out too much, cares too much and wants to change things feel insecure. This is an awful thing and has done you Poles much harm.

[Question] In your opinion, is this a characteristic of post-Stalinist mechanisms or a national trait? We say that this is the effect of the "Polish boiling pot", that our countrymen put down everyone that stands out in some way.

[Answer] In my opinion, this is a trait of a system in which the government tries to control everything and will not tolerate those who get in the way. A typical example is the fate of your innovators and efficiency experts. The reform must make a radical change here.

[Question] And that is just what the reform advocates.

[Answer] But who in Poland is really interested in seeing the reform succeed? Maybe some managers but the man in the street could care less because reform tells him he must work harder and has introduced insecurities with which he has never before had to deal. He associates reform most of all with having to pay more for various goods. Bureaucrats are also uninterested in reform because it undermines their coupons or vouchers, connections and privileges. So who is interested? Only the talented people who want to do more and earn more. You therefore have to start by clearing the way for the activity of the latter because there is no one else in Poland who can be the motivating force for reform.

[Question] What do you mean by "clear the way"? Are we to just do away all at one with all regulations and expose ourselves to chaos and confusion?

[Answer] If you eliminated all of the restrictions, laws and regulations that control nearly everything, I am convinced that you would have less of a mess than you now face. The state should act like a good doctor and not interfere with "self-healing". If people want to form associations to work together to achieve certain goals, why interfere? Let them show what they can do. You should also concentrate on doing what you are good at and that is my ninth point. The sector that can become Poland's real source of wealth and in which you can

achieve the most rapid success is agriculture. You should give agriculture its due priority as fast as possible. Hungary did this in a much worse situation and they succeeded.

[Question] But what about the farmers? After all, most of our farms are not ready to use modern methods and equipment. Let us even suppose that Santa Claus came to give the farmers everything they need—coal, machinery and fertilizers. There would still have to be the strength and desire to put it all to intensive use.

[Answer] I am convinced that if this Santa Claus did appear, then young people would quit leaving the countryside in droves. And those who had left would soon be back to show what they can do.

[Question] You spoke about eliminating the barriers to individual action. That sounds good but you must admit that the real key to success is a reform of state-owned industry rather than the growth of small private businesses.

[Answer] I agree but I have my doubts as to whether it is good to keep investing so much in sectors that are obviously unproductive. If the reform is to have any sense at all, then you must really decide whether it is worth losing so much money in the mining industry or the Katowice Steel Works. The reform should certainly have some painful effects on those enterprises but its leading principle should simply be one of profit. Everything without exception must be determined according to that principle. We in France have succeeded in doing this. When a mine stopped showing a profit, we closed it immediately. The same happened with a metal works in Lotharingia which had fallen behind the times.

[Question] Do you want to subject us to your capitalist problems such as unemployment?

[Answer] If you do not have some unemployment, I do not see any way you can increase worker productivity. One could of course say that there is enough work in Poland but the demand is so unevenly distributed that large numbers of people would have to move to satisfy it. For now, it is your people who are losing on both counts. What difference does it make if they have jobs when there is all of this hidden unemployment, the cost of which is borne by all of the public. Of course, you could make no radical changes and life would go on peacefully enough but Poland would become a third-world country. The choice is up to you.

[Question] Are you suggesting that our government fears making any radical decisions?

[Answer] I think that your pressure groups such as those from the mining, heavy industry and mechanical industries are the most harmful influences. They want to maintain the status quo and obstruct the most important decisions.

[Question] And that brings us to your tenth point.

[Answer] This point is more political in nature. To me it seems that more than any other country, Poland must learn to draw water from rock. Poland is a communist country whose culture and traditions are predominantly western. Poland has a socialist economy but also a great need for reform based on the realization of profit.

[Question] Are you proposing that we adopt our own form of capitalism?

[Answer] I already said that in my opinion, there is no point in talking about bringing capitalism to Poland. A market economy, free initiative and competition do not have to conflict with the principles of socialism. In general terms, what I am saying, and this is my eleventh point, is that nothing can be done in Poland without raising the status of the intelligentsia. The fact that in Poland a doctor earns less than a hospital ward attendant, an architect less than a domestic maid and a professor less than a blue-collar worker is the very reason that you cannot produce anything. After all, who can better lead reform than a skilled expert? And this brings me to my twelfth point which is the need to harmonize reform with what socialism has already achieved such as free higher education, public health care and inexpensive access to culture.

[Question] Do students in France pay tuition?

[Answer] Only symbolically.

[Question] Then in your opinion, are we better off in that regard than Frenchmen?

[Answer] That is an interesting point but it is often the case that your achievements in Poland become your problems. Examples are the collapse of free medical care and the situation in the schools. You also have enormous difficulties in your cultural life, in printing books and your film industry is in trouble but at the same time, you offer inexpensive tickets to really good theaters. It is only a shame that people do not take more advantage of the opportunities. I really do not know just where you are better off than us except for one thing and that is that Poles are much more interesting and fascinating people to talk to than the average Frenchman or German.

[Question] But this "fascinating people" is falling behind the rest of the world at an alarming rate.

[Answer] That is true. I recently spoke with an important person here and he told me quite clearly that no one in the government really thinks you will get out of the crisis anytime soon. That is a task that will take at least one generation. If that is true, then I do not know what will become of you because the decapitalization of your industry must be halted quickly, within at least 2-3 years. The same is true of introducing automation because Polish industry cannot afford to wait more than 3-5

years for computers. And not only do management methods have to be changed quickly but also the way the state functions. This is something we have already discussed but it is very important—you also have to make a general change in the way people think about their jobs, the economy and the state.

[Question] But none of this can be done in just 2-3 years.

[Answer] Exactly. For that reason, when I look at all the elements that your government has to consider everyday, when I sit and try to make sense of your situation, I admit that I usually end up pulling my hair. Especially because, as Professor Adamski recently said in a ZYCIE WARSZAWY interview, there is no support for the government and most of those who do support the government are not believers in economic reform.

12261

Negative View of Poles Abroad Noted in CBOS Report

26000405a Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
19 May 88 p 2

[PAP report: "Poles' Self-Portrait: Report of the Public Opinion Research Center"]

[Text] "Are Poles liked abroad?" the Public Opinion Research Center asked in a survey titled "The World Around Us."

"Yes," responded 60 percent of those surveyed; "no," replied 35 percent; while 5 percent had no opinion.

The results of the survey presented in a report "Poles' Selfportrait" did not confirm the common opinion of Poles' national megalomania.

The authors of the report emphasized that we look at ourselves fairly realistically. As a people, we have good points that can arouse sympathy from other but also faults that arouse dislike.

In the opinion of the respondents to the survey done by the Public Opinion Research Center, Poles are liked especially for their hospitality (27.5 percent), for their engaging manners, frankness, openness, sincerity, and ability to get along with others (16.3 percent), for being hard working, conscientious, reliable, and trustworthy (10.3 percent).

The respect of other peoples is aroused by opinions of Poles' courage, suffering, and heroism (8.9 percent), Poles' participation in battles "for your freedom and ours" (8.3 percent), and opinions of the good work of our compatriots abroad (8.2 percent).

Similarly, the respondents to the survey done by the Center mentioned altruism, honor, sensitivity to wrongs suffered by others (5.6 percent), and our sense of humor and relaxed personalities (4.3 percent).

"Why are Poles not liked?," the Center further inquired.

For selling things and smuggling was the commonest response (28.3 percent), for abusing alcohol and drunkenness (15.6 percent), for stealing and breaking the law (11.9 percent).

Dislike for Poles in the opinion of the respondents is aroused by our craftiness and scheming (8.9 percent), lack of discipline at work, laziness, and even idleness (8 percent), grabbiness, greediness, pursuit "of money" (7.1 percent).

The good opinion of our compatriots is also not helped by remaining abroad illegally (5.8 percent), wastefulness of Poles, tolerance for wastefulness (5.8 percent), and the opinion that for money "a Pole will do anything" (5.2 percent).

The answers to the question, "Have we deserved poor treatment while traveling around the world?," shows that Poles are critical of themselves. Nearly 43 percent of the respondents said "yes," and only 37 percent said "no."

13021

OPZZ Official Takes Labor Code Draft to Task on Specific Points

26000406a Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
16 May 88 p 4

[Interview with Stanislaw Bar, deputy chairman of OPZZ, by Teresa Grabczynska: "Trade Unionists on the Labor Code: Revise but Not This Way"]

[Text]

[Question] The announced agenda for the meeting of the OPZZ Executive Committee for 5 May 1988 included discussion of the proposed law revising the labor code. This point, however, fell out of the order of business.

But the present situation highlights the significance and importance of the workers' constitution, thus it is all the more important to examine the proposed revision of the labor code and more thoroughly scrutinize the trade unionists' reservations formulated by an OPZZ special commission using the opinions of the particular unions and their federations. We asked Stanislaw Bar, the deputy chairman of the OPZZ, what type they are.

[Answer] The proposal presented for consultation does not at all take into account the resolution of the unionists' congress which called for adopting the labor code to the conditions of the reformed economy, eliminating

impractical provisions, and complying with the convention of the ILO which Poland has ratified. At the congress, we emphatically opposed the introduction of any changes that would worsen the current legal status, limit the rights of workers and rights of unions provided for in the law on trade unions.

[Question] This is nothing new; the trade unionists have mentioned this point more than once before.

[Answer] We have mentioned not only this point. The failure to take into account many other comments and proposals made since 1983 to the former ministry of labor, wages, and social services in this proposed revision is also an argument against accepting it. Is it possible then to be surprised that the statement of our position contained harsh words? The objections are that the proposed changes are fragmentary, unclear, that they are accompanied by an official's idea of improving the enterprise's economics by using bureaucratic methods of organizing the labor process at the cost of worsening the workers' situation, weakening the protective function of the unions.

We get the impression that the authors of the proposal wanted, at all costs, to fit themselves into the schedule for implementing the second stage of the reform. Thus, they sought measures "according to need" without considering the adequacy or appropriateness of the changes to be introduced.

[Question] But changes are essential, you yourselves have called for a revision of the labor code. What do the trade unionists want?

[Answer] There is not a single word in the proposal about working time and its dimensions. One can only assume that beginning next year a 46-hour work week will be in force, since the decree of the Council of Ministers on work time expires at the end of this year. It passes over such an important issue as the distribution of work time. And it does so in a situation of irregular supplies in the materials economy and halts in production due to this cause? The types of problems that arise in this situation are shown by the four collective cases brought before the Collegium for Social Arbitration by the federations last year. We can add the dozen or so other disputes brought by plant organizations. How can the code omit what is important for employees and is not without significance for the effectiveness of enterprises?

The next issue that has not been regulated is the length of service. And this is happening right before the signing of new collective labor agreements. To "simplify" things, today one calculates length of service differently for sick pay, for seniority supplements, for anniversary awards, or for vacations.

If the labor code is to order, make precise, define, then we would search in vain in the proposal for an exact definition, for example, of the work day and for the day

off. The same applies to the chapter on collective agreements, where it practically begs for an explanation of concepts associated with plant wages systems.

And it is a paradox to call the unwillingness to regulate questions associated with releasing individuals from occupational work to perform various civic functions. They are covered differently in the law on trade unions, differently in the law on the Social Labor Inspection, differently again in the laws on workers' self-management, on deputies, and lay judges.

Once it is release from the performance of job functions, once "release is due," once "delegating is due." The issue is not just words but in wages. And again, if you please, once as for vacation, once for a day of work. Here is an opportunity to avoid misunderstanding but the authors of the proposal do not want to take advantage of it.

[Question] Given such a long list, I hope this was the last example of issues that should be and were not regulated.

[Answer] No way, I mentioned only a few. The entire area of questions associated with work health and safety remains outside of the proposals. Previously, the branch ministries published the specific regulations. These ministries have been liquidated, but no one has taken over the health and safety torch from them. The revision of the code is, in my opinion, a good occasion to provide for regulations that do not arouse controversy in this area.

I also cannot omit recommendations we trade unionists have repeated dozens of times—defining such important concepts for us as: "with the consent of the trade unions," "with the agreement," "with the advice," "together with the trade unions." How many disagreements there have been in this situation! Must we be condemned to arbitrary interpretation, frequently at the cost of the employees?

[Question] The moral of our conversation would be as follows: a union "yes" for revising the labor code and a "no" for some of the proposed measures or for omitting them altogether.

[Answer] We strongly recommend that the OPZZ Executive Committee not accept this proposed revision of the code. Neither the range of changes made in it, nor their contents are adequate to the recommendations and proposals that the trade unionists' have been making for some time.

It is only a paradox that it was no other than we trade unionists who called for a quick, thorough revision of the labor code at our congress.

And we have not changed our position.

13021

New Rector at Bialystok Polytechnic
26000405c Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
4 May 88 p 4

[Text] The Senate of the Bialystok Polytechnic has elected the new rector of that institution. He is Prof Dr Hab Eng Kazimierz Pienkowski, head of the Heating Department of the Land Construction Institute. The previous rector of the Bialystok Polytechnic, Prof Mieczyslaw Banach, died at the beginning of April 1988.

13021

Higher Education Actually Regressing Since 1970's, Claims Sociologist
26000405b Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
18 May 88 p 3

[Interview with Doc Dr Jan Jerschina, sociologist at the Jagiellonian University, by Janina Paradowska: "For the Album of the Minister of Education"]

[Text]

[Question] Recently, problems of the young intelligentsia have been the subject of much discussion. Poorly paid, dissatisfied with its work, struggling with housing problems; these statements are repeated. You are also interested in the young intelligentsia but from a slightly different point of view; studying the educational system and educational policy, you have examined the conditions for the formation of the intelligentsia, the possibility of its renaissance. In other words, you decipher what hides behind the slogan: Poland a country of people educating themselves. A fine slogan.

[Answer] Fine, but without any substance. We are still living under the charm of historical successes. We repeat that after the war there were many illiterates and only 100,000 individuals with higher educations, while today there are more than 1 million. We recall that the obligatory level of education was raised to that of the secondary schools, and as a result there is an ambiguous picture of the entire educational system, including the formation of the intelligentsia in the collective consciousness. One can make many criticisms of the higher schools; the teachers are poor, but in all "it is not all that bad"; our scholars do well abroad, and pupils shine at the subject olympic competitions. All this serves to repair our hurt sensibilities. Under these conditions, it is easy to maintain the stereotype of Poland as a country of people educating and training themselves. This stereotype is basically false.

[Question] Can you prove this?

[Answer] Surely. We were a country that was fairly dynamically developing a group of people with educations at the secondary and higher levels up to the end of the 1960's.

[Question] One is used to saying that the 1970's are a period of explosion in education.

[Answer] There is nothing more mistaken. That was already a period of regression. In 1970 in the higher schools, the schools that form the intelligentsia, we educated 101 students per 10,000 population and then we could compare ourselves to other countries. Austria educated 80 individuals per 10,000 population. Spain, 66; Italy 128; the FRG, 83. We were not among the giants, but we were on a good middle level. And then what happened? Other countries, including those in the Third World, greatly increased their number of educated people, and we stayed in place. In 1985, we had only 94 students per 10,000 population; Spain, 207; Austria, 221; Italy, 226; the FRG, 246; not to mention such potentates as Canada, 420 and the United States, 388 (I am not including those trained in colleges). All countries, highly, average, and poorly developed, invested primarily in education to prepare themselves for modernization, dynamic economic, cultural, and civilizational development. There was also an investment in education and scientific research.

[Question] We too attempted to accelerate development in the 1970's, and initially the effort was successful.

[Answer] Initially. I think that one of the chief reasons for the failure of the modernization process and its breakdown was the lack of reform and acceleration in education. We did not know, for example, how to use licenses or new technology because there were no so many and such specialists or so much and such research as was necessary to achieve this goal.

[Question] The oversupply of engineers has already been the subject of discussion more than once.

[Answer] To be sure, the statistics say there is a relatively high level of concentration of engineers in industry, but there is neither the number nor the quality needed to find the required inventors, independently thinking individuals, specialists in areas that today control development. This concentration is relative also because a large number of engineers are wasted in administrative work and do not participate in design work. One must in general be very careful in using statistics. It is estimated that the intelligentsia, or people with higher educations, consists of about 1.2 to 1.5 million individuals. If we subtract those who are not actively engaged in appropriate positions we have a group of about 1 million.

[Question] According to a study done by the Polish Academy of Sciences from the beginning of the 1970's to the end of the 1980's, Poland should have about 3 million individuals with higher educations in order to operate as an economic and social organism.

[Answer] We have about three-times fewer, in spite of the fact that we still maintain the stereotype of an oversupply of intelligentsia.

[Question] Individuals with higher educations frequently cannot find work.

[Answer] This phenomenon is not a result of an oversupply of intelligentsia but is caused by employment policy. I, however, want to draw attention to another phenomenon. What has happened in Poland, if we examine the processes of renewal and development of the intelligentsia, is also characteristic of the other socialist countries. This is an issue of a certain educational strategy that depends on wanting primarily to invest in the training of engineers.

[Question] Who is the creator of progress if not the engineer.

[Answer] Already in the 1970's attention was drawn to the fact (but, unfortunately, mostly by philosophers and sociologists and not those who evaluated a variety of programs and decisions) that advancement in technology is associated with shortening the distance between discoveries in the basic sciences and new technological applications. The foundation of progress consists then of the basic experimental sciences and also of the social sciences and humanities. Meanwhile, our educational and research policy was and is based on primitive, archaic stereotypes that engineers are the chief creators of progress. As a consequence, education in the hard, natural, and social sciences and humanities was greatly reduced and as a result the foundations for creating the foundations for technological development were cut off. The same thing happened in other socialist countries. We are training 21.3 percent of the students in technical areas; in the Soviet Union this technocratic deviation is still greater, for it trains 41.7 percent of the students in this way; Romania as much as 44.4 percent. Meanwhile, in the countries that earlier began to modernize and are continuing to modernize, the number of students in technical areas is much smaller. In France, 12 percent suffices; in Holland, 11.6 percent; Japan 16.6 percent.

[Question] In this case, where has the greatest growth in the number of individuals with a higher education occurred?

[Answer] Primarily in the hard, natural, and social sciences and humanities. The point is to train a core of scientists, researchers, and teachers for schools at lower levels. In 1984 France trained 14.7 percent of its students in the hard and natural sciences; Holland, 10 percent; and Poland only 3 percent. In the humanities, France trained 22.6 percent; Holland, 15.3 percent; and Poland, 4.2 percent (all including teachers). Here even some socialist countries left us way behind. The Soviet Union trained 31.9 percent of its students in the humanities; Romania, 10.4 percent; even Bulgaria trains twice as many humanists as we do.

[Question] It looks as if we did everything possible to stay behind.

[Answer] Truly my head spins, how could one not realize for 15 years that we are constantly regressing. Do those directing the educational system not examine the statistics? Do they not analyze world trends? Do they not attempt to draw conclusions? This situation is not the result of the troubles or crisis phenomena of recent years. Everything was decided during the first half of the 1970's, during a period of relative prosperity.

[Question] There was talk of a scientific and technical revolution but the accent was on the word technical?

[Answer] Technical, engineering, managerial. Meanwhile the foundation of this revolution, the basis of the civilizational transformations in the world came to be representatives of the hard, natural, and social sciences and the humanities. In Poland we have exactly the reverse of this situation, and if it does not change radically, we will continue to regress. This is a fundamental problem for Poland—to become a country reforming itself, to enter the group of developing countries, or to have no chance to develop.

[Question] In the modern world there is only one road, reform and develop. Increasing the number of individuals with higher educations is difficult, but it is not impossible.

[Answer] I am not at all sure that this will happen. At present, we are experiencing a stabilization at a very low level. The main problem lies in the fact that the entire educational system requires basic reform and that this reform should precede others by many years. We should recall how an attempt was made to reform Poland in the 18th century. How did it begin? It was no accident that it began with education and that only then it became time for economic, social, and political reforms. Now things are being done in the opposite manner. A very detailed reform of the economic system was prepared, beginning with a transformation of the legal system; but nothing is happening still as far as reforming the educational system is concerned; this was considered last.

[Question] A Committee of Experts is at work; other groups are discussing higher education, for example; and an awareness of the limited resources of the state weighs on all. Thus, reforms are pushed back in time.

[Answer] Little is known about the work of the Committee of Experts, and time is passing. We do not know then who will be the creator of the desired technical, civilizational, and cultural advancement. Who will organize social life, take care of the hundreds of thousands of addicts, the 2 million alcoholics, the million handicapped individuals? I cannot imagine a reform without transforming the foundation of this reform, the educational system. You said "take students at the universities." Agreed. But who? The secondary educational system is such that even if the gates of the universities were opened and the entrance examinations were liquidated, little would change.

[Question] Nearly half of the young people, who are in basic vocational schools, have no opportunity to get a higher education?

[Answer] Precisely. I again return to the figures. In 1970 in Poland, 25 percent of the young people were in general secondary schools; today 21.5 percent are. In other words, the number of those who constitute the basic recruiting group for universities and control the expansion of the intelligentsia has declined. And what has happened during this time in other countries? In all of Europe education was reformed, and the number of pupils in general secondary schools was quickly increased. I will use a common statistic. In Poland, there are 10 individuals per 1,000 population in general schools. In France there 71; in the FRG, 86; in Sweden, 48; in Great Britain, 88; in Italy, 59; in Finland, 63. We should not forget that in these countries people in general live longer and young people constitute a smaller percentage of society than in Poland. These are statistics that must horrify us.

[Question] But then the practical conclusion is very simple—a rapid transformation of the vocational schools, especially the basic and even some of the technical ones into general secondary schools.

[Answer] I think that we should increase the number of pupils in general secondary schools by 6 percent annually. Then in 5 years we would have half of the young people in general secondary schools which would be only a recovery of a portion of the losses. I think that this way is relatively simple and cheap. The teachers who teach an occupation could be moved to one- or two-year vocational post-secondary schools or they could be made supervisors of school leavers. One should learn an occupation more frequently and more briefly in factories.

[Question] If we succeed in increasing the number of potential candidates for universities, then what group of the intelligentsia should be increased the most?

[Answer] The logic of the process of modernization requires that the number of young people in universities be increased first, especially in the humanities and natural sciences and in some social sciences, for example, social work.

[Question] These institutions of higher education will suffocate and collapse.

[Answer] The tragic situation of the universities is the result of the mistaken strategy of previous decades and its continuation today. We continually lose values that past years created. It is not even possible to ensure successors for the current professors and docents; the group of assistants is shrinking constantly. At the Jagiellonian University, for example, the number of positions was reduced by 36 percent which does not permit us to replace the workers leaving with new ones. This policy, which has lasted for years, does not deserve the name of

science. It affects the oldest Polish university in a particularly severe way because of the addition of general Polish conditions to local influences. The extremity of the situation of the Jagiellonian University, however, should not hide the destructive effects of current science policy on all the universities. Nor the fact that we should take immediate counteractions. Which ones, I have already indicated. We must reform secondary education, make it more open, double or triple the recruiting group for universities, and significantly increase the resources

for maintaining universities and education at the higher level. We should also change the structure of the academic system. I am thinking of placing the engineering schools and especially the pedagogical schools under the universities and polytechnics. We must also obviously improve the economic situation of teachers and scientists.

13021

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Planning of Tactical Militia Training Outlined 23000114 East Berlin DER KAEMPFER in German No 6, Jun 88 p 2

[Interim account in KGB "Erwin Panndorf." "Past experiences and results/High achievements at the work place and in training/Party's leading role strengthened/Further intensification of training"]

[Text] During the first months of 1988, members of the KGB "Erwin Panndorf" have contributed towards reaching and surpassing production goals. At the same time, training exercises were carried out with full participation in complete structured units and with high achievements.

Training and socialist competition were organized according to precise leadership documents. Steadfastness and uniformity, as well as capability for action of our militia units, were repeatedly proven during training exercises. It is our aim to stabilize and further develop the standards of performance reached so far. For that reason we focus our attention on enabling all superiors to organize training in such a way that performance criteria with high results are reached.

The leading role of the party was further strengthened. The educational effectiveness of party squads on route to militia gatherings, before the beginning of the training day, during training pauses, and after the conclusion of training themes on training days, is on the increase. High party participation is assured. Regular work consultations by the First SED Secretary of Gera District and the chief secretary of the battalion contribute towards the realization of our militia goal of "Increased Productivity."

Every month, unit commanders assign tasks to all superiors and political activists for relevant political-ideological work. It proves effective to brief party secretaries of company and squad agitators before every training or militia gathering on their mission, so that they are able to inform, persuade and mobilize in a deliberate and competent manner. In this way accomplishments reached and best experiences are popularized and a competitive spirit is developed. A high degree of combat readiness is reached when the greatest possible participation is achieved and when professional, personal and militia goals have been harmonized and coordinated.

For the organization of realistic combat training and continued training, the following steps have proved effective for us:

1. Official discussions with superiors, with concrete assignments and directions about training organization and how to conduct socialist competition.

2. Touring the terrain to determine the training organization.

3. Instructive-methodical training with NCO's in the field, following which precise training models are worked out.

4. Preparation of the training terrain by a preliminary commando unit before the arrival of the unit.

5. Finally, the effectively conducted training exercise of the unit itself.

To intensify training, especially the preparation for it, concrete assignments are given to the sergeants for self-study in their free time and their knowledge is tested before training begins.

Training in teaching methodology gives leadership and command practice to the NCO's. Once they reach the field, the motto is: drilling time is achievement time—there will be no waste of time.

In order that quotas and performance criteria are met, it is necessary to adhere strictly to the principles for measuring quotas and to thoroughly evaluate conditions, times and errors which influence the evaluation of criteria. Because it is not only a reduction of time which guides training. Even in target practice, the main objective is a hit with the first shot. With additional preparatory training on quotas, we organize and support the marksmanship awards every year.

Since the beginning of the training year our unit has prepared itself with the training guide for tactical training. Strong points are deliberately included in each training exercise and 2 days of out-of-class extended training in the field with NCO's, platoon leaders and commanders are planned for leadership and combat training.

The operational safety of the DH system is proven. It pays to have random checks in order to test whether the workers can be reached during and outside of regular working hours, and to evaluate the results.

For our KGB's effective impact on society: we helped assure success at the engineer maneuver of all Gera city schools. We successfully participated at the firing competition during the meeting of the comrades-in-arms and achieved high marks at the military sport competition held by the Society for Sport and Technology.

Sponsorship work with the Society's basic organizations is regulated by contract. It shows first results when winning new recruits for the professional NCO's of the National People's Army. Comrades of the army's "Erwin Panndorf" regiment, the "Ernst Schneller" military academy, and the "Georg Schumann" police squad lent us excellent support in enabling our fighters to master

the technology. We held meetings with our Soviet partner units on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army in the spirit of comradeship-in-class and -in-arms.

We focus much attention on holding socialist competitions and on analyzing proven experiences and methods. All superiors evaluate the level of achievement reached by their personnel and systematically organize the fulfilling of individual and collective obligations, with the goal that combat collectives receive the title "best unit," and for as many fighters as possible to obtain the marksmanship badge. For example, we organize with fighter initiatives the obtaining of necessary permits and qualifications. State officials aid us in this with courses to obtain, i.e., renew certificates for health, work and fire protection. We place special emphasis on individual

sponsorships by older militiamen so that new comrades will be brought up to the performance level of experienced fighters. Competitions and achievement comparisons are held based on announcements and are immediately rewarded, morally and materially.

Innovative work receives proper attention in our unit. The tasks are defined in an innovator plan. A central innovator brigade makes regular evaluations; it instructs and proposes steps for the implementation of suggestions. We direct all our efforts on the continued noticeable increase of the battalion's combat strength and combat readiness in honor of the worker militia's 35th anniversary.

09328

POLAND

Conversion of State Enterprise to Joint Stock Company Proposed

26000482a Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
3 Jun 88 p 3

[Text] From GAZETA LUBUSKA (27 May), Dr Marcin Swiecicki, secretary general of the Consultative Economic Council, in an interview with Marek Sobiecki:

Please note the negative consequences of direct execution of ownership functions by central or regional state government bodies on enterprises. The decisions they make on cost discipline, investment, etc. are as a rule much less efficient than decisions made by private owners. True?

This produces a lack of ownership incentives, e.g., authority to take on an economic margin. The private owner risks his own capital while officials, civil servants or politicians risk someone else's. And this often without bearing direct responsibility for specific mistakes, or at most answering collectively for hundreds of decisions and their combined consequences.

Certainly we will not move forward if we do not deal with the problem of guaranteeing the effectiveness of microeconomic decisions reserved for owners of the means of production. Today, neither in the enterprise nor outside it is there an entity directly interested in maximizing profit over the long term or in increasing the value of that enterprise.

That is why I propose converting state enterprises into joint stock companies. Their shareholders would be state holding companies (financial enterprises handling the shares and interested exclusively in profit), commercial banks and various organizations, i.e., higher school as well as private individuals. Institutions and people interested in profit—not the development of one line of business or region—would work better than offices.

12776

Poznan Fair Stresses Small-Scale-Manufacturing Role

26000524a Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
20 Jun 88 p 3

[Article by (sz): "Small Enterprises Prepare Their Offers"]

[Text] An event showcasing small manufacturing and service enterprises, the International Fair of Small-scale Manufacturing and Crafts "Cooperation," will be held in Poznan for the fifth time.

This event is unique in the CFMA countries. The fair will be open from 17 to 21 October, and preparations are already underway.

Small-scale manufacturing plays a marginal role in our exports: its share is estimated to be about 3 percent. If we note that there are a lot of small enterprises—351,000 craftsmen's shops, 2,800 socialized and 710 foreign enterprises—this means that the potential for trade and international cooperation is not being utilized.

Thus, the purpose of the Poznan fair is to present the product lines of these enterprises, the emphasis being on establishing direct contacts with foreign enterprises (hence the name of the fair, "Cooperation").

9761

Need To Curb Cooperatives' Monopolistic Habits Stressed

26000524b Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
20 Jun 88 p 3

[Interview with Prof Dr Andrzej Kozminski, Management Department, University of Warsaw, by Urszula Szyperska: "Renaissance Through Accelerated Procedures"]

[Text]

[Question] We yearn for traditional cooperatives, the kind with which producers and grocery merchants could avoid exploitation by monopolistic middlemen. At present, the cooperatives themselves are a large monopoly. However, their associations assure us that they want to reform, and especially to "de-bureaucratize." What is your view of these efforts?

[Answer] This is merely a cosmetic operation performed in response to various pressures, coming from the populace, which is increasingly impatient and driven to the limit of endurance, from the authorities pressing for cooperatives to reform and, finally, from troublesome people, such as yours truly, who call for breaking up the monopolies.

Therefore, central associations are making some make-believe moves, but actually this is absolutely insignificant. You certainly do some shopping in co-op stores; have you noticed any effort to prevent shopping from being a hassle? As for me, I notice nothing of the kind.

[Question] It is difficult to cure somebody who does not feel sick. Cooperatives do not want greater changes, they protect their present structures and areas of operation...

[Answer] They defend themselves as any bureaucracy would. You must have heard about the dairy cooperative in Zamosc, which broke away from these structures and now belongs only to the NRS [Chief Council of Cooperatives]. For this, the cooperative was punished in an exemplary manner: it contributes many times more to the NRS than previously to the intermediate echelons, and its chairman was expelled from the party.

The cooperatives are held down by the burden of bureaucracy. If we want them to be real cooperatives, we should free them from this burden. I believe that all associations above the basic level should be disbanded, by an administrative decision effective immediately pursuant to the Law on Special Powers for the Government dated 11 May 1988.

[Question] Professor, experience teaches us that administrative decisions do not serve the economy well.

[Answer] Throughout the world, they fight the monopolies by such methods. All the economic levers can do is to prevent their resurgence. However, let us not cling to the dogmas. The countries which have been successful have usually renounced them. Administrative monopolies can only be broken up by administrative methods, and let us not be afraid of such a decision, even if it seems controversial.

At present, when the government has special powers, conditions for radical, shock treatment have come about. Rotten compromises and moving ahead in small steps produce little effect. Others go ahead rapidly, we plod, and our national assets are not used, due to which they shrink.

[Question] Will getting rid of the unnecessary structures alone suffice to make cooperatives healthy?

[Answer] Certainly not. However, special powers are also an occasion to make other decisions as well, which, in combination, guarantee such a cure, for example, the decision to discontinue allocation and subsidization in all cases where central associations handle distribution. Switching to a market system will deprive the associations of the position of power usually associated with distribution.

[Question] This would be a healthy arrangement for the cooperatives, but I wonder whether it would be so for their members. For example, the maintenance of cooperative apartments is subsidized to a large degree; the state budget finances most of the expenditures for heating and hot water. It is difficult to conceive of eliminating these subsidies, remunerations in the socialized sector being what they are.

[Answer] However, households should receive them directly rather than cooperatives. Besides, only those below the minimum income level should receive it.

What I am saying is not popular, but we must take the consequences of economic absurdities in previous years, the same as other countries. For example, Great Britain needed 10 years of tough rules in effect in order to overcome the stagnation caused by the previous, unfortunate economic policy. We also need tough rules without subsidies, without socially [motivated] prices, without all the artificial operations which are dangerous for

the economy. Besides, it is easier to endure a very difficult situation, when there is hope for an improvement, than a less difficult, but continuously deteriorating situation.

[Question] A study prepared recently under the direction of Prof Jan Sliwa also suggests breaking cooperative monopolies, both in individual industries and areas. At issue is accepting the principle that any cooperative, regardless of what it started out doing, will be able to select what commercial operations it finds most suitable and engage in them wherever it chooses. However, it is suggested that cooperatives reform themselves gradually, in an evolutionary way. During the discussion of the study, you came out as a proponent of immediate changes. Let us recall why.

[Answer] The report is good, but in good times [only]. We need rapid results, "the effect of demonstration" to the populace tired of the crisis. Such an effect could be secured most rapidly in some sectors of the economy which are the province of cooperatives. I believe, for example, that breaking up the monopoly in food procurement and processing would make equilibrium in the market of agricultural goods possible in as little as a year and a half. Such a result makes resolute and immediate actions worthwhile.

This is also the case with catering. For example, Warsaw could become a city with good restaurants once again. However, abandoning subsidies and handing unprofitable facilities over to the private sector, i.e. breaking the cooperative monopoly, which deeply harms both the customer and the economy, is the prerequisite.

[Question] We complain about monopolies, but let us be fair: 40 years ago, cooperatives were taken over by the state, and they were not asked to consent.

[Answer] What I have said is not a complaint; I am aware of the situation. A long list of legal acts, which should be amended or annulled in order to free cooperatives from administrative responsibilities, was appended to the study by Prof Sliwa mentioned above. I believe, however, that this should be done without delay. Special powers granted to the government make it possible to act swiftly in this matter.

[Question] If the market were more of an influence on our economy, no special measures should be required. Cooperatives will reform by themselves in order to stand up to the competition.

[Answer] These are ponderings of the kind "what came first, the egg or the chicken." We might say just as well that breaking the bureaucratic structures and the monopoly is a prerequisite for the emergence of competition and installing market principles in the economy. I believe that the two processes should run on parallel tracks and influence each other.

[Question] What do you believe is the role of cooperatives today, under the conditions of pronounced concentration of capital, which in the developed countries also affected cooperative organizations? Do small cooperatives have a future?

[Answer] The ones who are doing well will naturally become large enterprises after a period of time. However, at present the condition of our economy does not justify a high degree of concentration. We need self-financing small and medium-size enterprises, typical among cooperatives.

I believe, however, that we should not artificially keep afloat cooperatives operating in the red. They should be replaced by small private businesses. This would mean leaner cooperatives, but thus far quantitative successes did no good for them. In addition, such weight loss would benefit the economy by improving the situation in the labor market, and material and energy balances.

Let us also remember where cooperatives have come from. This was a movement of poor people who were having problems and decided to tackle them together. At present, many families also have to disburse their budgets very carefully. For example, inexpensive shops with low margins are needed; therefore, cooperative trade should have the right to vary margins. Besides, getting involved in a cooperative should be profitable, hence the suggestions to increase the dividend and give discounts to members, to which I subscribe.

[Question] First of all, however, we need benefits on a macro scale: well-stocked shops, easier access to services, more apartments.

[Answer] As I have already said, a renaissance of genuine cooperatives could bring about a radical improvement in these fields. Let us remember that cooperatives are a form of collective resourcefulness. In the present economic situation we especially need enterprise; this is why we should remove the barriers which restrict it. In this case, I am in favor of shock treatment administered resolutely and through accelerated procedures.

9761

Enterprises Become Shareholders in New Lodz Bank

26000524c Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
22 Jun 88 p 2

[Article by Jan Kraszewski: "Will the Enterprising Ones Break Through?"]

[Text] On 14 April 1988, a notary registration of the incorporated company LBR [Lodz Development Bank] was made in Lodz. In keeping with the directions and spirit of the reform, its founders decided to take an active part in this process.

As we have already reported, 22 enterprises, including renowned companies such as "Uniotex," "Famed," "Lodex," "Wifama," and "Budopol" from Lodz, "Wistom" from Tomaszow and "Hutrem" from Katowice decided to become shareholders in this bank. Shares were bought by the vigorously developing Collar and Piston Factory "Fapid" and the City Office of Lodz. Initially, they contributed 367 million zlotys, which exceeds severalfold the amount legally set for the incorporation of such a company.

The Lodz initiative gained the support of the Association of Support for Economic Initiatives, which became its supporting element, with an investment of 10 million zlotys. Serious involvement by this institution in the enterprise is shown by the fact that Secretary of the Socio-economic Council of the Sejm of the PRP Marcin Borowicz, who is also secretary general of the association, became the chairman of the board of the bank.

I asked one of the founders, Pawel Zielinski, about further developments concerning the initiative.

"Everything that is new is born in pain. New thinking, let alone new actions, still are not widespread. Luckily, we fit within the concept of reform promoted by the NBP [National Bank of Poland]. We encountered understanding on the part of many people working there. It is also essential that setting up the Lodz Development Bank did not require funds and organizational effort on the part of the bank. We appreciate the highly positive opinion of the NBP on the LBR expressed on many occasions. We count on it being confirmed in the forum of the Bank Council.

It depends on the resolution of this body whether the Lodz Development Bank will operate, though this is in the jurisdiction of the Council of Ministers. On 14 July, the term of notary registration expires; if the discussion drags on, the shareholders will lose 2 million zlotys."

However, it is not this amount that is at issue...

The Lodz Development Bank is being set up in order to, among other things, financially support the budget of the new people's council endowed with new powers, said Director of the Finance Department in the Lodz City Office Edward Opalski. The city and the province need a lot of money for apartment repairs, which need to be done in 15,000 buildings, as well as for environmental protection and communications.

It appears that the LRB meets the law being prepared on territorial self-government more than "half way." Setting local initiatives in motion, financing new enterprises, upgrading local raw materials and insuring financial liquidity of enterprises are its most important goals.

Interest in the LRB has exceeded the expectations of its originators. It will be interesting to see whether those reviewing the case will have enough imagination.

9761

PRC Railway Minister Notes Expanding Economic Contacts

26000524d Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
24 Jun 88 p 8

[Text] Minister of Railways of the People's Republic of China Li Sen Mao visited Poland between 18 and 22 June. During talks with Minister [of Transportation] Janusz Kaminski, the heads of the ministries familiarized each other with the tasks and directions of development in the railroad systems of the two countries and exchanged opinions on further scientific-technical and economic cooperation.

It was stated that in 1987 the railroad systems of both sides carried out the movement of freight in mutual traffic in keeping with the orders of foreign trade organizations and the needs of transit. The Polish side reiterated its interest in including a Warsaw-Beijing passenger car in the Moscow-Beijing train, and the Chinese side expressed its support in this matter.

The plan of scientific-technical cooperation coordinated by the two ministers at their meeting in Beijing last year is being implemented in full. The Polish side proposed to enhance the direct cooperation of interested enterprises and institutes of science. Last year, contracts were signed for the delivery of 1,700 freight cars and 400 carriages to the Chinese side and for bartering certain railway equipment. The contracts are being implemented successfully.

The Polish side offered the PRC to increase the deliveries of cars and to deliver machinery for track maintenance and measurement, equipment for snow removal, special automatic devices for managing train movement and operation of marshalling yards, and rolling stock repair equipment. At the same time, it expressed interest in further deliveries of Chinese devices for wagon retarders used in marshalling yards.

The Chinese side came out in favor of developing economic cooperation on the principle of mutual benefit, taking the needs of both railroad systems into account. Foreign trade organizations will coordinate the list of mutually delivered goods.

9761

Economic Activities Bill Criticized as Unwarranted, Unimaginative

26000531 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
No 30, 23 Jul 88 p 5

[Article by Stanislaw Podemski: "The Draft Law on Undertaking Economic Activities Is a Crippled Work: Pricking the Balloon"]

[Text] "The future constitution of the Polish economy" (RZECZPOSPOLITA dated 13 June 1988). "Another of the important steps forward in the entire past work of reforming the economy," (deputy premier Prof Z.

Sadowski at a Sejm meeting on 18 June 1988). What are we talking about? About the bill, submitted to the Sejm, on "undertaking economic activity."

After these and many other words of satisfaction, this baloon of complements was pricked by the Sejm's Socioeconomic Council, to its credit: In the opinion of the Socioeconomic Council, the bill on undertaking economic activity is not what society expects. The respective articles, as written, do not confirm the announcements cited in the explanatory statement to the bill, and in particular, that "this act is of fundamental importance in the stimulation of greater activeness and more enterprise."

The Council perceived unmistakably that the bill read for the first time in Sejm is not a Polish Napoleonic code, but a work full of weaknesses, contradictions and vague statements, "requiring many basic changes."

Without Justification

The explanatory statement to the bill comprises 17 pages, but it contained no arguments favoring the exclusion, from its scope, of such important areas of the Polish economy as agriculture, horticulture, and animal husbandry. Nor do we know, for example, why a scientific group which solves problems for industry, a literary agency which strives to popularize or find a place for authors on the domestic or foreign publishing market, or finally a group of photographers who specialize in artistic photography, are not supposed to avail themselves of the benefits of the bill. The Council calls attention to this, and the bill written by our late colleague, Zygmunt Szeliga (POLITYKA 11), which preceded the government document, does not mention a word about such exclusions. Anyway, this bill was completely ignored. The head of the group which edited the document criticized by the Socioeconomic Council, said in an interview for RZECZPOSPOLITA (13 June 1988): "We paid no attention to this publication, because it really was not of much value to our work." He added also, that in Szeliga's bill, "the number of delegations of authority for the Council of Ministers to issue executive regulations was enormous." I counted: in the POLITYKA text there are six authorizations for the Council of Ministers (or minister), while in the government bill there are 11 of them. When one makes a public statement, it is well to at least count to a dozen.

The Socioeconomic Council says that "the number of delegations in the bill for the Council of Ministers, in the absence of executive-act bills, arouses fear that many valuable solutions proposed in the bill will be distorted." All of the many years of the Sejm's legislative experience makes a case for such an opinion. If there is no desire to put something under the control of the Chamber, it is brought in through the back door into the executive orders. Fortunately, the Constitutional Tribunal has been condemning such practices for the last 2 years and

is defining precisely where the freedom of the executive authority ends and the area reserved to the Sejm begins, but the temptation to apply the old methods remains.

There is no enterprise without calculation. Anyone who decides on a step, committing his effort and money, first makes a good count. And so the bill, made up of 75 articles, is stubbornly and totally silent on the subject of taxes, exemptions, and financial relief, condemning these matters to one of the weakest fields in Polish legislation, i.e., the tax law. Every fourth complaint reaching the Supreme Administrative Court pertains to taxes, and this has been the case for years. It is true that Prof Z. Sadowski said in the Sejm that "work on these solutions is very far along according to the timetable of the program for the second stage of reform," but as is already clear, both of these steps (i.e., the law on enterprise and the rules on how it is to be taxed) will not appear at the same time.

No Imagination

That is why the Socioeconomic Council considers this to be one of the main defects in the bill. It writes in its opinion: "The bill should define the basic rules of a financial system which will make all economic sectors equal, and specify, among other things, the maximum amounts of taxes, types and scope of tax relief, methods of calculating and administering amortization, conditions for access to credits and the tax-exemption period for newly-begun economic activity. Making the financial and tax rules the same for all sectors of the economy, prior to passage of the bill, does not interfere with the improvement of tax policy and the preparation of a uniform bill on a taxing system. Moreover, it establishes clear rules of operation. If these pre-bill actions are not taken, or at least not made a mandatory prerequisite, it will be impossible to implement Art 1 of the bill, 'Freedom of Economic Activity,' (equal rights for all economic sectors—author's note)."

That is why here, too, Szeliga's bill went in another direction. The author of the editorial group's government bill, S. Lautsch-Bendkowski, says in an interview for RZECZPOSPOLITA, that "imagination is one of the basic traits which a legislator must possess." Precisely so.

Unhurriedly

Without the certification of the authorities confirming that an economic initiative was recorded in the official register, and that the authorities entering it into the record have no reservations as to it, the entrepreneur cannot begin any activity, and this is very clear. Yet, the bill does not seem to perceive that 2 months for a simple recording action is too long, especially since in certain circumstances this period can extend to 3 months. The provision, according to which the "recording organ records the entry promptly" (if, of course, there are no reservations) is useless here. The entire code of administrative procedure is paved from top to bottom with

such instructions ("promptly", "without delay," and how it has functioned over a quarter of a century can be read in the periodically published scientific reports, and those published by the government also. That is why acceptance of the rule that if an office is silent for 2 months, or does nothing, only then can it "be regarded that an entry was made," is a concession to the worst bureaucratic tradition.

The annual report of the Supreme Administrative Court (NSA) reminds us of what the relationship of the administration is to all, even the most holy, deadlines. Offices have a month to send a citizen's complaint to the NSA, and the report for last year listed the ministries and provincial offices which extended this period for a year, or even a year and a half. We can also read in these reports to what extent the practice of issuing permits for economic activity today is characterized by narrow-mindedness, hatefulness, stupidity, and ostentatious disrespect. Even central-government offices do this. Every ruse is good and is applied without regard to a higher, public right. That is why setting a 2-month deadline, instead of a 2-week one, for example, does not discipline the administrative authorities, and on the contrary, allows them to proceed as usually, i.e., unhurriedly. We no longer have time for such practices.

The bill tells us to verify the activities of already existing enterprises and gives a year to do so. They are also supposed to obtain certificates on entries into the record, but for this they will have to go once more to the office windows. The bill states: "In order to record organizations conducting economic activity, they must present, on the demand of the recording organ, the indispensable documents and information on these activities." How does this square with the categorical instruction to supply more and more papers to substantiate the bill, in which we read the following: "The burden of verification will not be placed on the economic organization, which should greatly simplify the recording procedure and shorten the time until activities are effectively begun."

The list of ventures which will no longer require entry into the record, but will be licensed by the authorities, is long (20 items). They include such fields as wholesale trade and bus transportation. With trade and transportation struggling, this decision is incredible and no one will see it as anything but a defense of state monopoly (which is falling apart, anyway). Licensing the production of spirits, medicine or weapons, is obvious, but why block actions which might help those areas which have been most criticized for years?

Experience from another field is interesting here. For example, how the transfer of shops into agencies is going and the experience of the most recent (April of this year) provisions, is described once more by RZECZPOSPOLITA (14 June 1988). The shops are empty or are badly run (in Warsaw's Zoliborz alone, there are 40 such

collapsing businesses) but those applying for agencies are harassed with demands to put up financial bonds "requiring a formidable company of millionaires" (RZECZPOSPOLITA).

An application for licensing, in accordance with this same tradition, will, therefore, be turned down more often than it is granted. In any case, it will also be necessary to wait for a license and apparently the wait will be so long that something on the order of a temporary license (a "promise") is being anticipated. Except who, today, wants to invest even one zloty when he does not know whether or not he will get a license?

One of the most criticized legal decisions was that which gave the provincial authorities the right to meddle in the existence of Polonia firms. Forty-nine policies arose in this way, of which some interfere in the operations of these firms as much as they can, others do not allow them to exist at all, and fortunately there are also those which allow them to exist and develop. And so, after these experiences, and after accepting, in the bill on foreign capital, the rule of one manager, in the bill discussed here the decentralization of licensing policy to the provinces is permitted. In one bill it is written thus, in another it is written otherwise.

Special stepmother treatment was given to the activities of social organizations. They are supposed to continue to conduct such activities, but only on the basis of a special permit. Who will issue and cancel these permits, and under what conditions this will occur, we do not know,

because this is a matter which will be regulated by a Council of Ministers directive. The several-decades-old tradition of strict supervision of associations, is involved here. How does this "freedom" of a manager for social organizations relate to the new law being prepared on associations?

The already often-quoted head of the group which wrote the bill on undertaking economic activity (RZECZPOSPOLITA) said the following about Szeliga's bill: "Szeliga, without denying his large resource of economic knowledge and familiarity with economic practices, is, nevertheless, in legal matters an amateur. His bill... was more a vision of a certain new economic model and the theses of a system of laws connected with it, than it was a proposal of concrete norms and legal regulations." Szeliga worked 2 nights on his bill, and as the calendar of work on the government bill shows, an entire group of people had a couple of good months for this job. And yet in the bill I do not see either a vision of "a new economic model" or inordinate juridical talents. The Socioeconomic Council believes that "the achievement of the basic goals talked about in the government's explanatory statement to the bill, will require the making of many important changes."

Mr Lautsch-Bendkowski believes that writing a bill is a job as precise as artistic carpentry. The fact is that the table on which our national economy rests is very wobbly.

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